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CONVERSATIONS ON RELIGION,

WITH

LORD BYRON

AND OTHERS,

1073
HELD IN CEPHALONIA, A SHORT TIME PREVIOUS TO HIS
LORDSHIP'S DEATH

BY THE LATE

JAMES KENNEDY, M.D.

Of H. M. Medical Staff.

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INTRODUCTION.

As a natural introduction of the following pages to the general reader, it may be necessary to prefix some short sketch of the life and character of the lamented individual, who, by a coincidence of circumstances, was thrown into contact with Lord Byron during his lordship's residence in Cephalonia, preparatory to his proceeding to Greece, where he terminated his life.

Dr. Kennedy received his education in Edinburgh. His views were originally directed towards the bar, in preparation for which he gave himself up to habits of close study and application, which accompanied him through life. At the same time, however, that he was prosecuting a course of reading which would have fitted him for the law, his thirst for general knowledge led him to attend also the medical classes of the University; so that when the earnest advice of his friends, in consideration of a constitution not adapted to a sedentary life, induced him at length to abandon his original purpose, he had already laid a foundation for the profession which he ultimately adopted. Talents of no common order enabled him advantageously to follow up his medical studies; and it may with truth be said, that he rose to a high standing in his profession, and was eminently successful in its exercise; whilst the gentleness of his manners, and the genuine kindness of his heart, qualifications so essential to a physician, conciliated the esteem and confidence of those to whom his medical services were rendered.

For several years after his obtaining an appointment in his Majesty's service, he was stationed in different parts of the United Kingdom, until he was ordered to the Mediterranean, where he passed between six and seven years. Of these, the first three were spent in the island of Malta, where his judgment and conduct were often shewn under circumstances of difficulty. In November, 1822, he was called to Corfu, and passed the remainder of this period

among the Ionian Islands, being stationed successively at Paxò, Santa Maura, Cephalonia, and Ithaca, and, on an occasion of duty, he visited the island of Zantè. It was during his residence in Cephalonia, in the year 1823, and under circumstances which will appear in the body of the present work, that he became acquainted with Lord Byron, and that the following conversations and discussions took place.

In all the places where he was stationed, Dr. Kennedy took a lively interest in the condition of the native inhabitants, and was active, both in his official and private capacities, in endeavours, by all the means in his power, to raise and improve it. He zealously co-operated in the circulation of the Scriptures, the establishment of schools, and other useful and benevolent undertakings; and by a very simple method, too seldom resorted to by Englishmen, namely that of associating with them on a friendly footing, he succeeded, to a remarkable degree, in acquiring the esteem and confidence of the Greeks of the Ionian Islands. The Greeks have been sometimes accused of being insensible to kindness, and deficient in gratitude: an accusation which may probably, with equal justice, be made against any other nation as against them. Dr. Kennedy at least could not complain of this; and he received many pleasing proofs, and at seasons when no interested motives could have operated, of the affection and respect with which his character and benevolent exertions had inspired the inhabitants of these islands, and of the sincere regret they felt at his departure.

Shortly after his return to England, in February, 1826, Dr. Kennedy was ordered to Ireland, where, however, he did not long remain; as in December of the same year, he was sent to the West Indies, from whence it was the will of Providence that he should never return. The summer of 1827 was peculiarly fatal to the troops in Jamaica, and numbers were swept off by the yellow fever, to which disease Dr. K. himself, after most faithfully discharging his trying duties among the sick committed to his charge, fell a victim. He died on the 18th of September, 1827, at Up Park Camp, near Kingston, after an illness of only three days. Some extracts of his correspondence, during the above mentioned period, illustrative of his mind and feelings, under very painful circumstances, will be subjoined in the Appendix, and will, it is hoped, not be perused without interest, when

the reader has become better acquainted with his valuable character, as displayed in the present work.

"His death," says a brother officer of the Medical department in a letter from Kingston, "caused a general feeling of sorrow. He was highly esteemed, and sincerely regretted by officers who had known him but a short time; they were astonished at the degree in which this feeling was excited, and they acknowledged that their regard was not measured by the time they had known him, but by his superior worth."

On this latter topic, deeply as it may be felt, it might not be becoming to dilate; nor is it necessary, since the general nature both of his talents and sentiments will, in the most natural manner, be developed in the succeeding pages. Let it only be said, that as the temper of his mind was ever candid and manly, so from the time when serious views of the truth and importance of religion took possession of it, he openly professed them before the world, and by a consistent life so adorned his profession, that even those who were unable justly to appreciate the principles on which he acted could not help respecting his conduct. Firmly settled in a conviction of the truth of Christianity by evidence which brought it home to his own understanding and heart, and intimately persuaded that it was the best boon of God to man, he was ever ready, when called upon so to do, "to give a reason of the hope that was in him;" whilst no man more deeply felt that all religion was vain, which was not evidenced by the influence it exercises over all the daily actions and relative duties of life. And it may be here mentioned, as a circumstance honourable both to Lord Byron and Dr. Kennedy, that his lordship was frequently heard to say, that he never felt so high an esteem for any man as he did for Dr. Kennedy. In him, Lord Byron thought he perceived a man acting up to the principles he professed; and whatever effect Dr. Kennedy's endeavours might have had upon his lordship's religious sentiments and character, which it is much to be feared was not all that could have been desired, he manifestly honoured the manliness, sincerity, and disinterestedness evinced by Dr. K. in his communications with him on the subject of religion, and of the union which appeared in his character of the Christian, the gentleman, and the man of letters. The following pages will, indeed, shew the warm sympathy and concern felt by Dr. Kennedy for Lord Byron, and his death affected him much. He was

not deceived as to the degree of impression produced upon Lord Byron's mind by these conversations; but it was at least a subject for self-satisfaction that he had so strictly discharged his duty in pressing on him the truths of Christianity, and the awful realities of an eternal world.

It now only remains, that something should be added respecting the present work, in venturing to bring which before the public, she, upon whom this painful task has devolved, has the great consolation of knowing, that she is only carrying into effect the matured purpose of her departed husband. During the progress of the Conversations here recorded, in which Dr. Kennedy felt the deepest interest, he regularly took notes, for his own satisfaction, of all that passed; but it was not till after Lord Byron's death, that he conceived the idea of giving them to the world; and so little had the thought crossed his mind before, that he kept no copies, either of some dissertations, which at his lordship's desire he had written on certain religious points discussed between them in the course of the Conversations, or of his own letters to Lord Byron after his arrival at Missolonghi. As the recovery of these papers seemed necessary to the satisfactory completion of his object, he addressed a letter, dated May 26th, 1824, to the Honourable Douglas Kinnaird, whom he conceived, though erroneously, to be one of his lordship's executors, in which he took the opportunity, whilst making the request that these documents might be returned to him, of explaining the nature and object of his proposed publication. In reply to a letter written by Mr. J. C. Hobhouse, Dr. Kennedy entered so fully into the circumstances which gave rise to these Conversations, the nature of the Conversations themselves, and his own motives in intending to bring them before the public, that little more will be required than to give this letter as it stands.

Mr. Hobhouse has, however, taken no notice of the application which was then, and has since been made.

Ithaca, Nov. 11th, 1824.

Sir,

"I RECEIVED your letter a few days ago, and thank you for your politeness and candour. It cannot be supposed

that I imagined that I was about to do any thing prejudicial to the character or fame of Lord Byron, when, in my letter to Mr. Kinnaird, whom I addressed by mistake as an executor, I stated that my reasons for resolving to publish an account of the Conversations with his lordship on religion were, that I believe such an account would be interesting in itself; would tend to remove much of that obloquy which many Christians attach to his lordship; and would not be injurious nor offensive to any one, whilst it might possibly be useful to many.

“My objects are still the same; but as you are entitled from your long friendship with his lordship, as well as from your office, to inquire into every thing that may effect his character, I shall more fully explain the nature of my intended publication, by which means you can judge whether my design be praiseworthy or not, and whether you can approve or condemn it. I shall certainly hesitate before I publish any thing derived from a private or confidential intercourse with Lord Byron, at least such an intercourse as implied no right to publish what took place, which can in any way appear to you or his friends calculated to injure his reputation.

“A few days after his arrival in Cephalonia, I became acquainted with him in consequence of his having expressed a desire to be present at a meeting of some of my acquaintances, who wished to hear me explain, in a logical and demonstrative manner, the evidences and doctrines of Christianity. He attended the first meeting, but was not present at several others which were held, partly because he was busy in the country, and partly because he was not expressly invited. He took, however, an interest in the discussions carried on, and repeatedly expressed his wish through the medium of a friend, that I would go out and converse with him on these subjects. I therefore visited him several times, and had very long conversations with him. The conversation was chiefly on religion, but it turned occasionally on literature, authors, books, the character of living individuals, and sometimes on his own views and plans, works, and private concerns. On religion his lordship was in general a hearer, proposing his difficulties and objections with more fairness than could have been expected from one under similar circumstances, and with so much candour that they often seemed to be proposed more for the purpose of procuring information or satisfactory answers, than from any other motive. These difficulties and object-

ions were neither original nor new, and proved that his lordship, though tolerably well acquainted with the historical and poetical parts of Scripture, had no understanding of them as the means of salvation. On other topics, I was for the most part a hearer, and heard from him many anecdotes and opinions which, though interesting and expressed in his characteristic manner, I never intended to publish, not only from a consideration of the circumstances under which they were communicated, but from their having no immediate relation with the object of my work. Opinions, however, on authors who have been long dead, and on their writings, may or may not, I imagine, be mentioned, according as they may fall within my plan.

"I intend, in the first division of the work, to give an account of the conversations with my friends; and as I was the principal speaker, this part will contain my arguments in favour of religion, while the objections and difficulties that were started, will be stated and examined, without ascribing this to this, or that to that individual. As all these friends are alive, delicacy requires that I should be general and brief in all that relates to them, not from an idea that any shame will accrue to them for wishing to hear and understand religion, but from deference to the repugnance which every one has to appearing before the public unnecessarily. The second division will attempt to convey a view of the chief external evidences, but, above all, of the internal evidences of Christianity, drawn entirely from the Scriptures themselves, and divested of all theological theories and technicalities, in the most simple and perspicuous manner of which I am capable; and if my execution of this part of the subject could equal, which I know it will not, my design, I think that a scheme of religion so pure, perfect, and complete, accounting for the state of man, solving the difficulties of moral and physical evil, suiting the actual condition and circumstances of mankind and pointing out the only road to happiness here and hereafter, could be presented, that the most exalted reason, if fairly exercised, would be compelled to recognise the impress of divinity in the Christian revelation. The third division will contain an account of my conversations with Lord Byron, written with the same precautions which I use in the first division, except that I mention his name on the ground that these conversations do more credit to his lordship with respect to religious opinion, than can be inferred from many of his writings.

The last part of the work will contain an examination of the extent to which real Christian principles appear to pervade and influence the different ranks of society; of the causes which have hitherto retarded the spread of Christianity, and the means calculated to promote its progress in future.

“Of the delicacy and difficulty of my undertaking I am aware; yet, if written with a spirit of truth and integrity, it may, though perfect in its execution, be useful to many. I shall leave this question to be decided by my friends. There will be less difficulty in touching on Lord Byron's views of religion than you imagine, because I shall not form a creed for him, which I fear he had not taken time to do for himself, but I shall simply relate facts which, when contrasted with many of his writings, render his character more amiable; and I shall consult both delicacy and justice in excluding most of his opinions and anecdotes relating to living individuals both public and private.

“The chief difficulty which presents itself to me is, whether I am justified in availing myself of these conversations with so celebrated a man, in order to give additional interest to a work, the object of which I profess to be utility. If my doing so would injure his character or fame in the slightest degree, there could not be a moment's hesitation in deciding on the baseness of the measure. But as far as I can judge, a true statement of what occurred will place his lordship's character in a fairer light than he has himself done in many of his writings, or than can, perhaps, be done by a friendly biographer. The brightest parts of his life were those which he spent in Cephalonia and Missolonghi, and the fact of his wishing to hear Christianity explained by one, merely because he believed him sincere; confessing that he derived no happiness from his unsettled notions on religion; expressing a desire to be convinced; and his carrying with him religious books, and promising to give the subject a more attentive study than he had ever done, will throw a certain lustre over the darker shade of his fame, and sympathy over his character and memory, in the minds of all Christians. It will, moreover, take him from the ranks of such men as Hume, Gibbon, and Voltaire, in which too many will be disposed to place him, and deprive deists of the right of quoting him as a cool, deliberate rejector of Christianity.

“I shall submit this difficulty to my friends in England, and be guided by their opinion; and should they judge that the reasons for using his lordship's name are fair, I shall

then if you wish it, submit to you, or any of his friends, every part of the work which relates to him, and attend to every reasonable objection or suggestion—I except, however, any opinions I may give on his character and writings, derived from sources open to all; though even on these points, you may not find much to which to object; for I shall neither praise nor blame his lordship so much as some of his friends on the one hand, or some of his enemies on the other, might probably desire. My opinions shall be free and impartial, given with that moderation, which truth requires, and with that delicacy which is due to the memory of a man whose hospitality and kindness I have shared.

“I have two or three letters only in my possession from his lordship, which relate to a young Turkish girl whom he intended to place ultimately with his daughter, but whom for a while, he wished to be with me. I intended to publish them as a proof of his romantic generosity and benevolence; but if you have the least objection, they shall be suppressed.

“I am satisfied with the fairness of the motives which influence me; but as I may possibly deceive myself, I shall remain open to conviction, and be obliged to any one who shall point out my error: for I would rather alter the work by omitting everything which relates to Lord Byron, or suppress it altogether, than violate any principle of honest dealing, or of Christian duty.

“The rather tedious explanation which I have now given will, I hope, appear to you satisfactory, and I have only to add, that you will oblige me if you will have the goodness to give me your opinion on the subject as soon as you can, making, at the same time, such objections or suggestions as you consider necessary.

I am, Sir,

Your humble,

Obedient servant,

(Signed)

J. KENNEDY.”

JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE, Esq.

It will be observed from this letter, that the original plan of Dr. Kennedy's work comprised four divisions. Of these the first and third, comprehending his Conversations with

his friends and with Lord Byron, were found at his death, in a state which, it is hoped, justify their publication, although it is to be lamented, that his premature decease did not allow them to receive the last corrections from his own hand, by which they would, without doubt, have been rendered much more perfect, and worthy of the public eye. Of the two other divisions, a part of the second, treating of the external evidences of Christianity, was in forwardness, and some scattered materials were found of the remainder; but these as being incomplete, although containing much valuable matter, it has been judged better entirely to omit. The portion of the work, however, which now appears, is, doubtless, that which would have served most generally interesting from its connexion with a name so celebrated as that of Lord Byron: and under this view, forms a whole in itself; and it is now presented to the world, as found in the papers of the author, no liberty having been taken with it, but that of partially arranging the latter division of the work, which was not left in so finished a state as the former, and of making some few omissions and verbal alterations.

Some extracts from Dr. Kennedy's letters to an intimate and valued friend now also deceased, chiefly referring to his communication with Lord Byron and his intended publication, together with other extracts, will be found in the Appendix.

CONVERSATIONS

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RELIGION.

LORD BYRON arrived on the 6th of August, 1823, at Argostoli, the principal town of the island of Cephalonia. He came in the brig *Hercules*, which he had freighted to convey himself, his friends, and some stores for the use of the Greeks, in their struggle for liberty and independence. Count Gamba, an Italian nobleman, Mr. Hamilton Brown, and Mr. Trelawney, two English gentlemen, and Dr. Bruno, a young Italian physician, accompanied his lordship. Before proceeding to the continent, his lordship determined to remain a short time in one of the Ionian islands, in order to procure correct information with regard to the parties and factions, by which the continent was distracted, so as to enable him to form those plans which seemed most likely to heal all divisions, and promote the true interests of Greece. With this view he selected the island of Cephalonia, partly on account of its vicinity to the continent, but chiefly, as it was understood, from having heard that the governor was a man of an enlightened mind, and favourable to the general cause of liberty and independence.

His lordship continued on board the ship in the harbour for four weeks; but having landed his horses, he took an airing every evening on horseback, attended by some of his companions. He made an excursion to visit Ithaca, a neighbouring island, separated from Cephalonia by a strait about two miles in breadth. He first despatched Mr. Hamilton Brown, and shortly afterwards Mr. Trelawney, to the continent, to procure accurate information with regard to the state of affairs in Greece, as he could more safely rely on them, than on the different Greek leaders, most of whom wrote to him, each endeavouring to persuade his lordship to join his party. Finding it necessary to wait longer than he at

first expected, he paid off the vessel, landed his stores, and took a residence for himself, Count Gamba, and Dr. Bruno, at Metaxata, a pleasant and healthy village about four miles and a half from Argostoli. He continued here till the 27th of December, when he embarked for Missolonghi.

His arrival at Argostoli excited a great sensation among the Greeks and the English. The former were eager to behold a wealthy English nobleman, and a celebrated poet, (of whose fame most of them had heard much, while many were acquainted with part of his writings,) on his way to join their countrymen, to add the whole weight of his name, influence, talents and fortune to the cause of freedom. The latter felt a still greater curiosity to behold a countryman not less interesting by his unrivalled talents, than by that mystery and awe thrown over his character by his faults and misfortunes; but, above all, by the daily rumours of his misanthropy, profligacy, and infidelity, and by the warfare which he had so long carried on against many of the most distinguished literary characters, as well as against the government and religion of his native country. He was viewed by all as an object of wonder and astonishment; and as one whose talents, character, and sentiments separated him, as it were, from the rest of mankind. All were alike anxious to view his person and watch his proceedings, and none but a spectator of the scene could conceive the vague and unrestrained wonder which he occasioned. It was generally supposed, that his lordship would shun his countrymen, as he had done in Italy; and he,—as was afterwards ascertained,—apprehended that they would, in like manner, shun him; not only because of the censures, reproaches, and calumnies against him, with which, about this time, most of the papers and periodical publications were filled, rendering him, as he often felt, an object of detestation and abhorrence; but also, because of the delicacy which they might feel as subjects of a neutral government, in showing any attention to one who was going to take an active part in what was legally considered a rebellion.

Instructions having arrived from the superior authorities, to receive his lordship with the respect and courtesy due to his rank, Colonel D., who commanded in the absence of the governor, went on board, and was received with that affability and politeness, which so much distinguished his lordship.

The first invitation which his lordship accepted, was to an evening party at the Honourable Colonel D.'s. A friend of

mine, S., who was present, was delighted with the affability and refinement of his lordship's manners; and with the ease, simplicity, and cheerfulness with which he conversed on common topics; so different from the idea which he had formed of his lordship's character.

The officers of the garrison, having invited him to dine, did everything they could to mark their respect and admiration for his rank and talents. On his health being drunk, he expressed his great satisfaction at being in the society of his countrymen, and of seeing so many of them together. He added, that he felt so much the honour they had done him, that he was afraid he could not express his sense of the obligation as he ought, having been so long in the practice of speaking a foreign language, that he could not convey his sentiments in adequate terms in his native tongue. He was much pleased when he had made his short speech, and repeatedly asked Colonel D. if he had done well, and if he had acquitted himself properly, as he was so little, he said, in the practice of public speaking.

Hitherto I had seen his lordship only on horseback, as he took his evening ride with his friends; and while I often listened to the details of his sayings and actions, which formed the subject of general conversation, and which, for the most part, were only interesting because they were said or done by Lord Byron, I had no anticipation that circumstances were preparing the way for affording me a near and an intimate intercourse with him.

It happened about this time that four friends spent an evening with me; they were all from Scotland, as I am myself, and all, except one, belonged to the learned professions; they were men of liberal education, and respectable talents. The conversation happening to turn on religion, I was surprised to hear the whole of them express free and deistical sentiments; some of them, perhaps, from bravado, and some from apparent conviction. I remarked, "that it was a curious circumstance to find in one company, four men, natives of a country so much praised for religion, who entertained such opinions." One of them, in return, expressed his surprise, that I, who appeared to be of a cool and steady judgment, could believe in Christianity. "If we had you," he continued, "among us for a short time, we would soon reconvert you to our opinions." I said, "that I believed this was impossible, as Christianity appeared to me to rest on such a mass of evidence, as to be capable of the most rigid

logical demonstration, and that, consequently, every cool and steady man who examined it, must believe it. And so far," added I, "from being reconverted to your opinion, I might venture to say, that if I had you all for any length of time with me, I should be able, I trust, to convert you to my own." After some further conversation, they said they would like to hear me explain my reasons for believing in Christianity. I said, "that I would at any time be ready to gratify them, on condition that I should be allowed to speak at least twelve hours, at different intervals, without their interrupting me by proposing any objections. The reason why I made this stipulation was, because I believed them to be so ignorant of the true nature of the Christian doctrines, that this time would be requisite to convey to them an accurate idea of those principles, and of the evidence on which they were founded. This arrangement," I said "would be attended with this advantage, that they would gain some information, whatever might be the ultimate result of our meetings, and many of those objections which appeared to them altogether insurmountable, would, if they were candid, vanish, when they knew the doctrines which Christians really believe, and the reasons for them; which are very different from the idea which unbelievers form for themselves." After explaining, therefore, what those doctrines were; when they would appear not to be so strange and unreasonable as they had imagined them to be; I should be ready to refute any objection, and solve any difficulty that they might think proper to bring forward.

When I proposed this condition, I was well aware that no reasoning nor argument could convince an unbeliever, unless the grace of God accompanied the means used. But I regretted to see four of my countrymen, young men of extensive information and respectable character, who had received a sound and religious education in their youth, influenced so far by their intercourse with the world, and their neglect of all religious duties and studies, as to express such sentiments of unbelief. I hoped that, at least, I should be able to convey to them some important and interesting information on these subjects, which might be useful to them then, or at some future period of their life, by exciting their attention to the study of the Scriptures, convincing them that many of the objections, which appeared to them strong and unanswerable, were the consequences of their own want of information. When I stated that I would refute every objection

and solve any difficulty which they might feel, I did not presume to be able to settle every difficulty which might arise to a speculative mind with regard to many points of theoretical theology; but I knew so well the strength of evidence by which Christianity is environed, and, above all, the extent of their knowledge,—or rather, their ignorance of the subject,—that I was nowise apprehensive of the result. Indeed, it is impossible for a thinking and well-informed mind, (if even a small attention be bestowed on the subject,) to do more than DOUBT of the truth of Christianity. From long experience, I had found, that whether the deist be a man of rank, or of eminence in philosophy or literature, or whatever station in society he may hold, his violence in opposition to the Christian religion, is in proportion to his ignorance of its nature.

It was these considerations and hopes, which led me to propose the condition of being permitted to speak, without being interrupted by their objections, till time had been allowed me for giving a full and correct explanation of the doctrines of Christianity. My four friends agreed to the condition, and we appointed our first meeting to be held at the house of M., at one o'clock the following Sunday.

M., the gentleman at whose house we were to meet, called in the interim on Lord Byron; and, among other things, mentioned to his lordship the object of our intended meeting. His lordship expressed a wish to be present, and said, that he also would willingly be converted, if he could, as he felt no happiness in his present unsettled notions on religion. "You know," added his lordship, "I am reckoned a black sheep;" and, after a pause, he continued, "yet not so black as the world believes me, nor worse than others." He said, he would not intrude himself, as he did not know me; but M. said, that he had no doubt that I should readily consent that his lordship should be present, and would, indeed, be very sensible of the honour he did us. On the nature and object of the meeting being further explained to him he said that he would convince me, that, if he had not faith, he had at least patience, and that he would listen the prescribed time without interrupting me. On the next day M. communicated to me his lordship's wishes, and, though I had never spoken to his lordship, and little anticipated such a hearer, I readily consented to his being present, notwithstanding my fears that a consideration of his reputation and rank would embarrass me, more than was desirable, in the execution of a

task, at all times, and under the most favourable circumstances, arduous and difficult. The following day his lordship sent his compliments, with a message to M., that he was sorry that he could not attend the meeting on Sunday, as he intended that day to embark his horses and proceed to the Morea. Towards evening, however, he again sent a message to M., that he had changed his mind, and would be present at the meeting. We afterwards learned that his lordship had really intended to embark his horses on the Sunday; but on his mentioning his design to the captain of the ship,—a stout, rough Englishman,—who had the prejudices, if not the spirit of religion, he told his lordship, “No my lord, you must not play these tricks with me; there shall be no heathenish and outlandish doings on board my ship on a Sunday.” This refusal of the captain paved the way, it is probable, to circumstances, which induced his lordship to change his mind, and, with other causes, led him instead of hastening his departure, to remain four months in Cephalonia.

The rumour of the meeting now spread through the town, and it was reported that there was to be a discussion between myself and the other gentlemen on the truth of the Christian religion. This produced some uneasiness in the minds of some of my friends, lest they should be branded as infidels and enemies to religion. To counteract this, it was given out that the object of the meeting was simply to hear me explain some of my peculiar notions on religion,—as if I had notions different from those held by every sound Christian. I could not help smiling at the gloss which was thus ingeniously put on the matter, and was pleased to find that, though my friends could, in private, dispute, object to, and deride, the religion of Christ, and especially those who believed in it and endeavoured to regulate their life by its principles, yet they retained so much of the impressions of their early education, and had such a fear of the censure of the world, as to feel it a reproach to be called unbelievers. It is just to say, that my friends, with one exception, were not professed unbelievers. It is true they did not believe in all the Scriptures, nor in all the doctrines (one rejecting this point, and another that); and though, in general, they seemed to take a pleasure in raising objections against all the peculiar doctrines of revelation, except the moral precepts delivered by our Saviour, yet those objections appeared to me to be made from the pride and vanity of youth and ignorance; and I am

persuaded that, while making them, most, if not all of them felt a secret compunction and consciousness that they were doing wrong. One of them afterwards told me, that he had no doubt that, when he grew older, he should have recourse to the Scriptures, as the only source of comfort and tranquillity to his mind in old age, and of hope with regard to a future state; and all of them expressed their great dislike to be called infidels even in argument, because it appeared to them a term of reproach, and because, as Lord Byron afterwards remarked, it was "a cold and chilling appellation."

On Sunday morning I sent down a few books to M.'s house, in case it should be found necessary to refer to them. These were, the first volume of "Scott's Bible," "Erskine's Evidence," and "Paley and Gregory's," "Bogue's Essay" and "Horne's Critical Introduction to the Scriptures." While sitting with M., a note was received from an officer who begged to be allowed to be present. This was declined, as it was wished to keep the meeting as quiet as possible, and to admit only the original members; but the officer coming himself, and stating that he had no doubt of the truth of Christianity, and that he was not influenced by a mere desire of seeing Lord Byron, but by a wish to obtain information, he was admitted, and this the more readily, as one of the gentlemen who was present when the discussion was first suggested, had left the island.

Count Delladecimo breakfasted that morning on board with his lordship, and continuing to sit and converse beyond the hour appointed for meeting, his lordship said that he had an engagement to meet some gentlemen to hear the truth of Christianity explained and defended, and asked the count to accompany him. When they came on shore, the count took his leave as he had other engagements, and said to his lordship, "Well, I hope your lordship will be converted." "I hope so too," he replied.

His lordship came attended by Count Gamba and Mr. Brown; and, at the same time, two other gentlemen, influenced by curiosity, arrived, who from their rank and office, could not be denied admittance. Thus our meeting, which at first was intended to be held by five persons, was now increased to ten. His lordship sat on the sofa. Colonel N. in a chair beside him, the others formed a circle round the table at a distance from them at which I sat, being opposite to Lord B.

I began by apologizing for my boldness in undertaking

such a task, and hoped that they would excuse me when they considered the circumstances which led to it. After explaining them, I said that I did not rely on my own abilities and qualifications on the occasion, but on the nature of the subject, which was supported by such evidence, that no one who understood it could be apprehensive that its truth might be shaken or disproved by any, whatever might be his talents. I had certainly, I said, not expected such a distinguished and numerous meeting; and begged that they would acquit me of presumption if I still dared to explain and defend those truths, which I had at first simply undertaken to do to a few familiar friends.

I had some claim, I said, to be allowed to state my opinions with confidence. I had received a religious education, and had witnessed in my earliest youth many examples of genuine piety. At college I had no opportunities of mixing with pious people. My friends there, without denying the truth of Christianity, neither regarded its doctrines nor its precepts; and some of my companions, from affectation or conviction, professed themselves freethinkers. Hume, Gibbon, Voltaire Rousseau, and the other freethinking French authors, were held in high estimation among many of my friends, as those who chiefly merited the appellation of philosophers. My early impressions were never, however, so far effaced as to carry me the length of denying, or even doubting the truth of the Scriptures; but I lived almost in the total neglect of religious duties and studies, and frequently joined in the laugh and sneer against those whose lives were strict, as men of hypocritical character, or at least of a weak and narrow understanding. When doing these things, I often, indeed, felt a secret reproach of conscience, which was at times silenced by the resolution I formed, that some time or other, when it was more convenient, I would attend strictly to the study and practice of Christianity. I was often sensible of the inconsistency of my conduct in always talking with respect of religion,—nay, and of defending it, though very ignorantly in the company of deists, and yet joining in the ridicule against those who were more severe in regulating their lives and conversation by its doctrines. Circumstances at last led me seriously to reflect on the subject, and after two years of almost exclusive study and investigation of religious points, I took upon me the name and profession of a Christian, determined to participate in the lot

both in this world and in the next, of the sincere and humble followers of the Lord Jesus Christ.

My habits of study and reflection, I said, had led me to investigate the subject with a severe scrutiny, and I examined every book which fell in my way that seemed likely to afford any elucidation of the truth. I did not confine myself to the books written by professed Christians, but was even more eager to read those which were written by their enemies; and from the time I could read, to the present time, I had perused every work against Christianity which fell in my way, and had read a greater number of infidel productions than is usually done by most laymen. From the wide and circuitous mode in which I had investigated the subject, I had become well acquainted and familiar with the writings of deists and infidels, knew the nature and value of their objections, and had found that I was much better acquainted with this class of writers than many of their most ardent followers whom I had known. It was this consideration that had induced me with such confidence, to enter upon the present discussion, knowing, on the one hand, the strength of Christianity, and, on the other, the weakness of its assailants, especially of those with whom I had originally undertaken the discussion. To show you, therefore, I said, the grounds on which I demand your attention to what I may say on the the nature and evidences of Christianity, I shall mention the the names of some of the authors whose works I have read or consulted. When I had mentioned all their names, Lord Byron asked me if I had read Barrow's and Stillingfleet's works. I said I had seen them, but that I had not read them.

The task, I said, that I had undertaken was attended with some peculiar difficulties; that I should have to talk of a change in my own mind and feelings, which I was conscious they had never felt in theirs, and that I could only convince them of this, not in the way of direct demonstration, but by testimony and analogy. The way in which this discussion was to be conducted, required on their part so much reading and reflection, and the knowledge of so many facts, of which I believed most of them were ignorant, that no other way of overcoming the difficulty presented itself, than by their giving their undivided attention to what was said. I requested them for the first hour not to consider themselves as disputants in the cause, or called upon to marshal arguments and invent objections, while I was speaking; but to divest

themselves, if possible, of all prejudices and prepossessions, and to conceive themselves as about to give an honest judgment in a cause, the evidence in which would be clearly laid before them. Or, if they would divest themselves of all feelings of interest, their judgment would be more impartial, could they consider the question in an abstract point of view; as one, for instance, of mere science, or philosophy. After I had finished all my preliminary observations, I would pledge myself to refute every objection which could be made against the Scriptures, by showing that those objections were not founded on fact, but on assumptions, suppositions, and conjectures, or on mere propositions without proof. I said that the truth of the Scriptures was as susceptible of demonstration as any proposition in "Euclid," though by a different kind of evidence, and by a different process of reasoning, and that the truth or falsehood of the Scriptures would produce the same unerring conviction, provided we would, or could, study the evidence with the same coolness, and freedom from prepossession, with which a mathematical problem can be stated, and its falsehood or truth demonstrated. The force of evidence does not depend upon the statement of the evidence itself, for a chain of evidences might be stated with the utmost conceivable precision and accuracy; yet if the hearer listen to it with inattention, forgetting, or not hearing some of its most important points, and yet set himself to give his opinion, it is obvious, that his being right or wrong in his judgment does not depend upon the pure exercise of his reason. Besides this, if the hearer be incapable, from want of attention or capacity, to comprehend the nature and force of the evidence presented before him; if his conclusion be erroneous, as it must of necessity be, we have no right to blame the faculty of reason, or accuse the evidence of imperfection or obscurity. The power of evidence, therefore to produce conviction depends not merely on its own nature but also on the perfect attention and the perfect capacity of understanding it by the hearer; and where these qualities are combined, the conclusion is exempt from error. It is difficult, if not impossible, to find men who can thus divest themselves of all bias and feeling in matters relating to the religion in which their hopes and fears are necessarily concerned; yet this proceeds not from any defect in the evidence, but from the imperfection and prejudices of the human mind. Some are so sensible of these difficulties, and of the apparent impossibility of examining the subject with perfect coolness

and impartiality, that they attempt to justify themselves for the total neglect of it, by throwing the blame on the difficulty and obscurity of the subject, instead of confining it, as they should do, to themselves. The nature of religion, directed to a being like man, born and educated in imperfection, and prejudice, and error, may appear, at first sight, not to have a foundation in the nature of things so clear and demonstrable as that of the mathematical sciences; but an attentive consideration of the subject will convince any one who examines it rightly, that the evidence of the truth of Christianity rests on a foundation as certain, and produces a more permanent and internal conviction, than that of any truth whatever, whether moral, physical, or mathematical. In fact, this should be the case, judging from the nature of all things *a priori*; for the Creator of the minds of men, and of all material existence, can, as he is omnipotent, and must, we should infer from his attributes, give a revelation,—if he gave one at all,—with that fulness of evidence which is perfect in its kind and degree, and capable of producing, when properly examined and understood, as perfect a conviction, as can be felt for any other abstract truth which we may please to call mathematical or scientific. To suppose that there is any imperfection in the nature of the evidence which he has given of the revelation of his will, is to suppose the Deity either imperfect in his attributes, or imperfect in the manifestations which he gives of them to his creatures.

There are two ways, I said, in which the discussion may be conducted. The first, by commencing with what is called the external evidence for the truth of the Scriptures, and then examining the internal; the second, by exactly reversing this order. The first method, which opens into a wide, varied, and no doubt interesting field of observation, and which requires or implies an extensive course of reading, is less adapted to our present meeting than the latter; and were I to attempt it, their curiosity and patience would be exhausted before we arrived at the most important part of the inquiry, namely, the nature and tendency of the truths revealed in the Scriptures; and our discussion, I feared, might probably terminate in an increased disinclination, on their part, to examine its doctrines. The best plan, therefore, it appeared to me, was first to endeavour to convey to them a clear account of the nature of the truths revealed in the Bible,—their consistency with the attributes of the Deity,—and the state of man-

kind in every age and under every variety of circumstances; their tendency, when clearly comprehended and embraced, and the peculiar evidence of miracles and prophecy, by which they are supported, an evidence, which no other sort of truth possesses, and which it is in the power of no one but God to furnish. After having gone over those grounds, I should, I said, give them a summary view of all those topics which the external evidence embraces, with as much fulness as they might wish or deem necessary. This method would be attended with the additional advantage, that if they obtained a clear and correct idea of the doctrines which real and sound Christians believed and maintained, many of those objections which they would bring forward, were the external evidence to be first investigated, would be set aside, and the prejudices which arise from ignorance be removed; and they would be prepared with more impartiality to decide upon the combination of the whole evidence, both external and internal.

I told them that I did not undertake to make them real Christians: this was far beyond my power, for they might give a firm and rational assent to the truth of the Scriptures, might view their doctrine as a whole, complete and perfect in all its relations,—might perceive the irresistible weight of their evidence, and the weakness of all objections,—and might with ability explain and defend them, and yet not be real Christians. To make a man a real Christian, was in the power of God alone, by the operation of his Holy Spirit. But there was one thing which I might undertake to do, and that was, to display to them the varied and extraordinary mass of evidence in support of the divine origin of the Scriptures and show that no other books, facts, systems, principles, or truths, of any description, possessed evidence so great and of so peculiar nature; and that whoever rejected it, must do so from ignorance, misapprehension, or prejudice, in violation of every rule of sound and logical reasoning.

The Christianity, I said which in the present discussion I undertake to defend, and to which alone all my observations apply, is that which is found in the Scriptures; and I requested that this might be attentively kept in mind. It was not that view of it which is to be gathered from the decrees of councils, the creeds and confessions of churches, or the writings of divines. The doctrines of the Bible became early corrupted by an admixture of human opinions, speculations, and false philosophy, and the lives of thousands who

professed it were often inconsistent with its precepts. History presents us with decrees of councils on points which have not been revealed, and which consequently no human reason can comprehend or determine; with decrees of one council opposed to those of another; and, what is more to be deplored, with decrees establishing dogmas contradictory to, or in subversion of, some of the truths which the Scriptures reveal. We acknowledge, that we cannot trace either the spirit or the precepts of the Bible, in the intrigues, dissensions, hatred, animosity, and controversy among individuals; nor in the struggles, wars, and persecutions among bodies of nominal Christians; nor in the pomp, luxury, ceremonies, and dogmas which were gradually introduced, and almost universally prevailed. The details which Mosheim's history presents of the errors, follies, or vices of individuals; the extravagant and absurd notions and opinions which were broached and maintained; the divisions, dissensions, controversies, and persecutions which so frequently distracted the Christian world afford such a sad and mournful proof of the imbecility of the human understanding, and of the depravity of the heart, as is apt to excite a prejudice, in the minds of many, against Christianity itself, as a system of belief inconsistent, in its effects, with the high pretensions of its origin. Even in the present age, when knowledge is more solid and extended, the external church still exhibits the picture of its followers divided into innumerable sects and parties, with creeds and confessions differing, though, for the most part, on points of minor importance, yet in a few instances on those which are essential. Absurd, strange, and singular opinions, are, from time to time, hazarded by individuals, and defended or controverted by others. Controversy still appears, though divested of its former bitterness and acrimony. The pride of sect and party, and their mutual jealousy, still pervades individuals, and large bodies of Christians; and though there has been a grand step gained in the progress of improvement, there is still a great deficiency in that unanimity, love, and affection, which the Scriptures inculcate among its followers, and to which future and happier times will undoubtedly arrive.

Dark as the review of the progress of Christianity in the world may at first sight appear, the real Christian can, by patient observation and proper discrimination, see much that is cheering and consolatory. He knows, as a first principle of all reasoning, that man is an imperfect being—a creature

subject to prejudice and to passion. He knows, that in every age there are thousands named Christians, who have neither understood the nature of Christianity, nor felt its power ; and who, under the mask of religion, have pursued their own selfish and ambitious views. Many of this description have occupied the most eminent stations in the church, and been intrusted with the management of its concerns. It can be acknowledged also, that many who sincerely embraced the doctrines of the Bible, have mistaken, in innumerable instances, its spirit and tendency, and have been often actuated by their natural prejudices and tempers while they imagined that they were promoting the ends of truth. A history of the church, therefore, for so many ages, and comprehending the description of so many millions, can only exhibit those individuals, whose talents, virtues, vices, or errors, have rendered them conspicuous ;—those opinions, measures, and events, which have, more or less, influenced the state and character of the church at large, either in its internal or external relations. But there is no room in such a record for an account of the many thousands of poor, humble, and sincere Christians, who passed their lives in quiet and obscurity, in whom, chiefly, the purest effects of Christianity were best exemplified. We find the truth of this observation illustrated in the “ Church History” of Milner, who has traced soundness of essential principles, and consistency of practice, or, in other words, the principles and fruits of genuine Christianity, among individuals of almost every sect, and denomination in every age. When we carry our researches still further, we can discern, that in proportion as corruption, errors, and schisms increased, was the Bible neglected and forgotten ; and we need not wonder at the darkness and ignorance, the follies, crimes, and controversies of the middle ages, when we learn that the Scriptures had almost disappeared from among them ; and when the reading of them, where they could be found, was prohibited by authorities, and confined to one class of the community, and the right of private judgment and interpretation condemned, under the pains of imprisonment and death ; had the belief, and the lives, of nominal Christians, been sound and pure under such circumstances, we must have concluded, that any regard and attention to the Scriptures was unnecessary. When the Reformation took place, the Scriptures were restored to their proper rank and authority as the stan-

dard of all moral and religious truth, and the test by which opinions and actions were to be tried ; and since that period, we find that, in proportion as their circulation has extended, and their doctrines and precepts have been understood and followed, has the happiness of mankind increased ; thus affording, as well on the dark as the pleasing side of the picture, which the history of the past displays, a striking and important proof of the divine origin of the Scriptures.

The same principle will furnish us with the means of satisfactorily accounting for the differences which still subsist among eminent and good men, on many points directly connected with, or allied to, Christianity. In Christian countries, all are educated with prepossessions for the opinions and ceremonies, or want of ceremonies, of the sect to which they belong, and with a corresponding prejudice against the peculiar opinions and ceremonies of others. Some writers are influenced by a mixture of worldly motives, in their attempts to display powers of original observation ; talents for profound speculation ; their stores of erudition ; their acuteness and strength of reasoning, or the charms of eloquent composition ; and hence they are often led to the discussion of subjects, over which revelation has thrown a veil, and placed between us and them an impassable barrier. Some, are even destitute of the capacity requisite to elucidate the difficult subjects which their rashness prompts them to handle. Some, are formed by their peculiar education, and habits of thinking and study, to partial views of the Christian truth, and are, consequently, apt to underrate one part, and overvalue others. But whether these differences regard errors in doctrine of more or less importance, or relate to sound doctrine of more or less importance, or relate to sound doctrine, elevated or depressed, out of its due proportion with others,—whether they consist in unwarranted speculation, illogical inferences, in hostility and acrimony against others, or unreasonable boasting of themselves and their sect,—we justly ascribe them to a want of the full, and perfect understanding of the Scriptures, and of that spirit of caution, humility, and mutual love, which they so beautifully, and so frequently, inculcate.

However varied, therefore, the view may be which we take of the past and present state of Christianity in the world ; we find, when we reflect well and reason justly, that the authority of the Scriptures stands on its own grounds, unimpeached and unimpaired ; and while we acknowledge

the errors, and follies, and imperfections of Christians themselves, we must, on all occasions, but more particularly in fair and logical discussions with Sceptics or Deists, make a distinction between Christianity, as it is found in the Scriptures, and the errors, abuses, and imperfections, of Christians themselves, and impute blame to that quarter alone where it is exclusively due. Here his lordship remarked, that "he always had taken care to make this distinction, as he knew enough of Christianity to feel that it was both necessary and just."

I said his lordship acted right in doing so, and that it would have been fortunate if all, who have doubted or denied the truth of Christianity, had adopted the same course. But we find the contrary to be almost universally the case. We can trace in the writings of all those who have expressed doubts of its Divine authority, or who have altogether denied it, as well as among those who privately acknowledge or profess such opinions, the sources from which they have chiefly drawn their notions of Christianity. They have been formed rather from the writings of Christian authors, and from the review of the progress which Christianity has made, and the effects which it has produced on society, than from a minute and attentive examination and study of the Scriptures. We may justly conclude this to have been the case, from the scope and tendency of the writings of unbelievers. I know no sceptical writer, who, influenced by fair reasoning and candour, has made a distinction between the Scriptures themselves, and the abuses made of them by Christians; and who, dismissing the consideration of Christianity as it is held, and appears in the world, has set himself to a free, unbiassed, full and complete investigation, and refutation of the truth or falsehood of the Scriptures. It is true that their writings show that they looked into the Scriptures, from the quotations they make from them; but there is no evidence to prove that they have even patiently and perseveringly studied them, by carefully comparing one portion with another, and endeavouring to find out their true meaning and import. On the contrary, all the infidel works, which I have seen, are occupied in refuting, ridiculing those partial or distorted views of Christian doctrines which different sects, or individual authors, have maintained; or some absurd and extravagant notions which, in one age or other of the church, have had their admirers and followers. They expatiate upon the errors and

absurdities,—the crimes, vices, and follies,—the contradictory creeds,—the jarring decrees of councils,—the incredible tenets and monstrous opinions of individuals,—their never-ending disputes and controversies,—the tyranny, wealth, and luxury of ambitious priests,—their hostility to the progress of science, and to the happiness of society,—the bloody persecutions and wars which they have been the means of kindling,—the absurd ceremonies, and preposterous dogmas of some churches, and the jealousy, hatred and animosity, and the interminable war of opinions which have existed in every age of the church, and still are observable in the innumerable sects and parties into which it is at present divided. The writings of Hume, Gibbon, Voltaire, and all others of the same class, are entirely occupied with these topics. That men of such extraordinary talents and penetrating judgment, should be so enslaved by prejudice, as not to discern, or if they did, so lost to candour, as not to acknowledge, that all they have said might, or might not, be true as applied to Christianity blended and displayed in the writings, and lives, of Christians, while the Christianity of the Scriptures remained untouched, justly excites our wonder. But we are the less surprised that their followers, and admirers, should commit the same mistake. Where is the sceptic who has not already formed in his mind some notion of the leading doctrines of Christianity, derived from one or other of the impure sources already mentioned? So that before we can engage him on clear and definite grounds, we require to remove from his mind the erroneous views which he has imbibed, and to instruct him in those sound maxims, drawn from the Scriptures, in which all, or the majority of Christians, agree.

“What I have said will, I hope, have made the distinction clear between the Christianity of the Bible, and the Christianity of men; and enable you to be on your guard against the prejudices arising from the error of blending them together in an argument on the divine origin of the Scriptures. You will also see the reason why I have enlarged so much on the subject. My desire is to limit the inquiry to its proper and legitimate object. I do not attempt to prove that any particular creed, confession, or books, or form of church discipline or government is divine. This would be impossible; as, although these are all founded on the Scriptures, or at least said to be so, yet, as they are expressed in uninspired language on the one hand, or mixed

with human devices and inventions on the other, so they must partake more or less of a mixture of error, or of what cannot be clearly or unequivocally proved to be the truth.

“Still further to clear the subject, and remove all source of cavil and embarrassment, I shall assume no weight to my side of the question from the superior morality of real Christians, or their eminence, talents, and judgment. The importance of this concession will be understood if you consider that, after separating all hypocrites, nominal Christians, the ignorant and fanatic, there is left an immense multitude in every age and nation, thousands of whom have been eminent by their rank or station, by their talents, and judgment, and by the practice of every virtue, whose testimony to the truth of Christianity has been no less unanimous, than it has been unequivocal, and decided. But if I lay this aside, partly as being collateral, and partly because it is a topic which at present you cannot properly appreciate, I have to request that you, on your side, will dismiss all prejudice against Christianity, arising from the consideration that multitudes have rejected it; among whom some have been eminently distinguished for their talents, and acquirements. Those whom the Scriptures have never reached are neutral, and belong to neither party; and I shall willingly allow the presumption in favour of Christianity, arising from the number, rank, and talents of those who have believed it, to be counterbalanced, at least in argument, by the presumption against it, arising from the number, rank, and talents of those who have rejected it. In reality, however, I must observe, that these presumptions are not strictly equivalent—that in favour of Christianity preponderates: for, in the first place, the number of those who have embraced Christianity, is greater than that of those who have rejected it; secondly, their talents and judgment have been at least equal; thirdly, the testimony of the one class is positive, while that of the other is negative; and fourthly, the one must be better qualified to judge what Christianity is, by a longer and more attentive study of it, unless you conclude that they who reject and despise a system of precepts and doctrines are likely to study them more than those who believe and love them.

“Dismissing, therefore, from our view what Christianity is, as derived from the writings and lives of Christians, and the presumptions arising from the number and character of those who embrace or reject it, as being topics in themselves indirect and collateral, and as being liable to misconception

and cavil, from the impossibility of separating real from nominal Christians, and determining how far the innumerable shades of difference in their opinions accorded with the Scriptures, and the weight which would hang like a millstone on the neck of such an investigation, from the errors and vices both of real and nominal Christians, we find that our proper subject is, whether the Scriptures contain the genuine revelation of the will of God. This alone, divested of all its extraneous or collateral considerations, is susceptible of close reasoning and demonstration; and surely it will be admitted, that if we could lay aside all prejudice and bias, and exercise our reason with perfect impartiality and integrity, we might arrive at a conclusion, strictly demonstrative, that the Scriptures are, or are not, of divine origin.

“ If Christianity be an imposture, it is the interest of every one to have it banished from the world; for no permanent happiness can accrue to individuals or society from upholding a system of falsehood and error. If believers in Christianity are deceived, they exhibit the singular spectacle of a deception, which the more complete it is, appears the more to promote their comfort and happiness: and, if Christianity be false, it exhibits the unprecedented phenomenon of a system of opinions, which neither, power, fire, sword, reasoning, wit, learning, nor ridicule have been able to vanquish and destroy. It is not like some other systems which have been engendered in times of darkness, and nurtured by ignorance, superstition, and the arm of power. It has fixed its roots among the most enlightened and civilized nations; and even at the present moment, when sciences and the arts are carried to a higher pitch than they have ever been, its doctrines are spreading with more rapidity, and certainty, than at any period since its promulgation. In short, it meets you, in some shape or other, at every corner. Its effects are witnessed in all ranks and classes of society; it begins to invade the province of literature, the sciences, arts, and morals; it compels your attention; and whether you be disposed to let it alone or not, its importunities are incessant;—it demands an examination;—all must form an opinion of it, whether correct or incorrect. Its origin is equally singular. Books are found in a nation, which was hated and despised by others, containing predictions of the coming of a mighty Deliverer. A man from the lowest rank in that nation proclaims himself the Son of God and the mighty Deliverer,

which these books predicted ; performs miracles in proof of his mission ; dies and rises again to confirm its truth. His disciples,—also from the lowest rank in society,—propagate his doctrines in the face of danger and persecution, and seal their testimony with their blood. The system spreads gradually on every side ; its exclusive and encroaching character makes the whole pomp and splendour of paganism, established for ages in the most powerful empires of the world, bend and sink before it ; it becomes the professed belief of emperors, kings, and nations ; it affords a distinctive appellation to millions ; it has thousands of secret and open foes ; it has thousands of pretended friends, who care not for its doctrines nor follow its precepts ; its pretensions are, in many quarters, the subject of angry discussion, yet notwithstanding these difficulties, whether persecuted, neglected, or protected, it has spread its course over every civilized empire, and is still making its way, with rapid strides, in every island, country, and nation, where hitherto barbarism and ignorance had reigned.”

I now said to relieve their attention by variety, and myself from the fatigue of speaking,—to which I was little accustomed,—I would read to them a brief and distinct summary of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, supported by appropriate quotations from the Scriptures. I then took a manuscript, which was in a great degree, an abridgment of part of the works of John Newton, and chiefly of his letters to Mr. Scott. The plain, clear, and forcible manner in which this distinguished writer explains the first truths of religion, would, I hoped, have pleased my hearers, and produced some favourable impression. I had on a different occasion, found them productive of much utility to two persons of excellent understanding and of great candour ; but on the present occasion I was disappointed. Whilst speaking, I was listened to with attention ; but I had not proceeded far in reading, before I observed signs of impatience in some of them, especially in N. and his lordship. I endeavoured to obviate this, by saying that I should soon finish ; but I had proceeded a short way further, when I was interrupted by his lordship asking me, “ If these sentiments accorded with mine ? ” I said “ they did, and with those of all sound Christians, except in one or two minor things, which I would point out as I went along.” He now said, “ that they did not wish to hear the opinions of others, those writings they themselves could read at any time, but my own.” I replied, “ that my opinions were not peculiar ; that, in the fundamental doc-

rines, all Christians agreed; and that I had selected from Newton an account of these essentials, as I could not convey them in words more distinct and precise; but that I would, if they wished it, give an account of them in my own language." I continued to read, however a few sentences more in hope that, after this, they would have patience to hear the whole abstract; but coming to the expression "grace of God," his lordship asked me, "What do you mean by grace?" "The primary and fundamental meaning of the word," I replied somewhat surprised at his ignorance, "is favour; though it varies, according to the context, to express that disposition of God, which leads him to grant a favour, the action of doing so, or the favour itself, or its effects on those who receive it." I now the more readily closed the book, as I perceived that they had no distinct conception of many of the words which were used, and listened to some desultory observations made by N., M., and his lordship. I then said for the present I would leave the explanation of the Christian doctrines, as their patience was exhausted, and as they seemed unable to understand some of the terms in which these have been expressed. "What we want," said his lordship, "is to be convinced that the Bible is true; because, if we can believe this, it will follow, as a matter of course, that we must believe all the doctrines it contains." I said, that his observations were partly just, though I doubted if any one of them could act on the principle he mentioned; for though the strongest evidence were produced of the Scriptures being the revealed will of God, they would still remain unbelievers, unless they knew and comprehended the doctrines which these Scriptures contained. However, I said, "I am willing to take any course you please, provided you point it out to me, and allow me to adhere to it;"—though I still believed that the plan which I had chalked out to myself, was the simplest and the best, and calculated to be the most useful. Some conversation again ensued, the result of which was, that they wished me to prove that the Scriptures were the word of God. I said that this was my object; but that if my own plan, formed according to the best of my judgment, was set aside, I should like to know from them what they deemed the simplest and clearest course to follow in pursuit of the end we had in view; for otherwise I could not, on the spot, form a plan which might meet their various views and tastes; for I might be enlarging on some subjects which they deemed unnecessary,

and omitting others which they might consider of the first importance. "I was ready," I said, "if they wished it, to attempt to prove the subject negatively, by refuting any objection, or attempt to remove any difficulty, which they should propose, though in my opinion, this would lead to no useful result, as, in their present state of knowledge, a discussion of individual points and difficulties, unless conducted in a way which we could not reasonably expect, would probably terminate in a scene of mere strife and confusion."

After some further conversation, no other plan was proposed by them, and I was informed that they wished to be convinced upon the subject, and keeping this in view, I might go on my own way, and attempt to accomplish the object as speedily as possible. This was what might be expected from them. They were, in a great degree, ignorant, as I was aware, of the nature and the extensive range of the external evidence, and they were still more ignorant of the true nature of the doctrines, except the few vague and general notions, which all born in Christian countries possess. They had violated their engagement to hear me for twelve hours, for which I had stipulated, entirely with the view of giving them, as far as the time permitted, useful and necessary instruction; and yet under these circumstances, they desired, and seemed to expect, that I should convince, or attempt to convince, them in a short period. Desirous, however, to be as useful to them as possible, though foreseeing, as I had done from the beginning, that no other good was likely to be effected than that of giving them some instruction, I said that as our present sitting would soon terminate, I should beg of them to allow me to read a summary of the reason for believing in Christianity, which Scott had inserted in the Preface to his "Commentary on the Bible." I said, that as we must soon separate for the present, it would be useless for me to renew a discourse on the subject; and as Scott had in brief terms, included the principal topics; both of the internal and external evidence, as reasons for believing, I would read them, as it would not take up much time, and as they would thus have a general idea of the ground over which I would attempt to go, *vivá voce*, at our subsequent meeting. They assented to this, and I began to read; but I had not finished one paragraph, which alluded to Moses, and the miracles he performed, when his lordship asked me if I believed in miracles, and if I thought them capable of proof by human testimony? I immediately shut the book

conceiving that it was unnecessary to go on,—that his lordship's patience was evidently at an end,—and that he wished to be a speaker, and no longer a hearer. I answered in the affirmative; and said, "for the present we must finish the subject, that we might enter into some general conversation," A conversation for more than an hour now followed, chiefly confined to his lordship and myself, though N. and M. occasionally made a remark.

His lordship said, that when he was young, his mother brought him up strictly; that he had access to a great many theological works, and remembered that, among others, he was particularly pleased with Barrow's writings, and that he also went regularly to church. He said that he was not an infidel who denied the Scriptures, and wished to remain in unbelief,—on the contrary, he was very desirous to believe, as he experienced no happiness in having his religious opinions so unsteady and unfixed. "But he could not," he added "understand the Scriptures." He said, "that those people who conscientiously believe, he should always respect, and was always disposed to trust in them more than in others; but he had met with so many, whose conduct differed from the principles which they professed and who seemed to profess these principles, either because they were paid to do it, or from some other motive, which an intimate acquaintance with their character would enable one to detect; that he had seen few, if any, whom he could rely upon as truly and conscientiously believing the Scriptures." I said, "it was to be regretted that there were so many who professed their conviction of the truth of Christianity, whose conduct afforded reason to suspect the reality of their belief; but that we must not judge too harshly, since we do not know how sincerely these people have repented, and how much they have struggled to preserve themselves from those errors and infirmities which cause at once a scandal to their profession and expose them to reprehension. As an exception proves the rule, so the existence of hypocrites,—even were the people, his lordship had met with, such,—proved the existence of sincere believers: it would be unjust to entertain a general suspicion against all Christians, because one has been so unfortunate as to meet only with those whose sincerity might fairly be distrusted."

"What do you think," said his lordship, "of Sir William Hamilton's work?" I replied, "that I thought very little of

it. He had plunged into all the obscurities of ancient mythology, and from what was uncertain in itself, had drawn what he deemed certain conclusions, although their absurdity and extravagance were obvious to every man of sound judgment, whatever might be his creed." "Well," said his lordship, "Bellamy is going to give us a new translation of the Bible which is to clear up many of our difficulties."—"The public," I replied, "has already decided upon the presumption and incapacity of Bellamy for the task which he has undertaken, judging from the specimens which he has already laid before it."

"Do you understand," said his lordship, "the Scriptures in their original languages?" I replied, "that I understood the original language of the New, but not that of the Old Testament; that I had commenced the study of the language of the Old Testament, and should have finished it long ago, if I had any reason to doubt the accuracy of our various translations."—"The apostles," said his lordship, "are accused of not having written in good Greek."—"This is an objection," I answered, "which has been made from ignorance or malice, or from a want of due consideration of the subject. They do not write, it is true, in the style of Demosthenes or Thucydides, any more than the majority of our authors write in the style of Robertson, Gibbon, or Johnson. If we admit them to have written by inspiration, it would be absurd to expect that God would have chosen the artificial forms and turns of expression, which to our taste might appear elegant and fine, in conveying a revelation of his will, which was intended for all mankind, of whom the poor, and the simple, and the illiterate, constitute the majority. We have, in other parts of the Scriptures, innumerable examples of the grand and sublime in writing, which uninspired writers have never equalled; but even there, the grandeur and sublimity consist entirely in the sentiments and thoughts, while the language in which they are expressed is invariably plain and simple. Fine writing among uninspired authors consists chiefly in the turns of expression. Now, the whole of the New Testament consists of narration of facts; of an enunciation of precepts; of close reasoning from, or illustration of the first, and of admonitions or exhortations to the last,—language which was plain, perspicuous, and precise; neither too elevated nor vulgar, such as the most learned and the most fastidious could not despise, and the poorest could easily comprehend, was best suited to the sub-

ject, and, consequently, was that which was adopted. The style of the Septuagint, and that of the New Testament are precisely alike in purity and correctness; and the few Latinisms introduced in that of the latter, were names of things which were not known to the ancient Greeks. It would have been strange had the Apostles used a description of these things, instead of using the names by which they were known and understood, merely because ancient writers knew neither the names nor the things which they signified."

His lordship had taken up Scott during the time that some general conversation took place, and glanced over some of the pages. He now said, "Your favourite Scott does not say that it was the devil who tempted Eve, nor does the Bible say a word about the devil. It is only said that the serpent spoke, and that it was the subtlest of all the beasts of the field." "There is, however," I replied, "no great difficulty or doubt on the subject. As beasts have not the faculty of speech, the just inference is, that the beast was only an instrument made use of by some invisible and superior being. The Scriptures accordingly tell us, that the devil is the father of lies, the lie made by the serpent to Eve being the first we have on record; they call him also a murderer from the beginning, as he was the cause of the sentence of death which was pronounced against Adam and all his posterity; and still further, to remove all doubt, and to identify him as the agent who used the serpent as an instrument, he is called the serpent—the devil."

The conversation turned on the many learned and fine writers who rejected Christianity, as a proof, that men of the first capacities and endowments, and well qualified to judge, had found the evidence for it unsatisfactory. I said "that this was a common objection, and, to a superficial observer, appeared a very strong one, but that it would vanish on a close examination. No man can be eminent in all things, and equally acquainted with all things, nor can he bestow the same attention on all subjects. The astronomer, poet, historian, or man of science, can become distinguished only in proportion to the exclusive attention which has been bestowed on the respective objects of his study and research; nor can any genius, however exalted, supersede by intuition the long and continued application which is necessary, before any one can arrive at eminence in the arts and sciences. For my part, I concluded that, in proportion as a man was

eminently master of one science, he was the less acquainted with others ; though our prejudices led us to infer, that the same genius and sagacity which enabled him to rise to eminence in one branch of knowledge, entitled him to be deemed an authority in others ; a conclusion which, it is obvious, would be true, only if these qualities had been as long exercised on all subjects as on that which had raised its possessor to distinction. We find that the writers of the highest talents who have rejected Christianity, as is apparent from their works, were deficient on many points, either of knowledge or judgment, connected with their favourite subjects ; and from the nature of their objections against the Scriptures, we can discern that they were not intimately acquainted with the truths contained in them ; and hence we conclude that these had never been, with them, the subject of much study or meditation. I should like much," I said, "to know, for instance, how many years Hume or Voltaire devoted to the study of the Bible ; how many books connected with the subject of it they read ; how many hours of meditation and reflection were spent by them ; and how many anxious prayers they addressed to the Creator of all, to direct their judgment, and enable them to find out the truth. Till we ascertain these facts, no one is entitled to say, how far these men were qualified to judge with regard to the Scriptures, or to hold up their opinions as of any weight or authority. But, however ignorant we may be of the length of time, and the care which these eminent men have devoted to the study of Christianity, we can judge precisely of the value of their authority on such subjects, when we find that the chief objects of their reasoning, their sarcasm and their wit are the errors in opinion, or inconsistency in practice, of those who are called Christian ; and that they never meet one doctrine of the Scriptures fairly, so as to prove its falsehood by fact or by legitimate reasoning, but give a view of it in the highest degree distorted, so as to enable them to pour out their whole force of bitter sarcasm and irony in their pretended refutation of it. I do not mean to deny that, for the most part, when they have directed themselves to a refutation of the errors and vices of real or nominal Christians, that their reasoning is just, their conclusions irresistible, and their irony and sarcasm, in a measure, excusable. But we must never allow ourselves to fall into the mistake which they have unfortunately made, that, in refuting these errors, they have, in the least degree, shaken the truth or authority of the Scriptures themselves, which cou-

tain as severe and bitter denunciation against the errors which Christians commit in life and opinion, as are to be found in the writings of the most distinguished unbelievers. Their authority, therefore, ought to be entirely set aside; and if authority is at all to be attended to, in a case where every man is qualified, and ought to judge for himself, we can oppose to them the authority of such men as Milton, Newton, and Pascal, whose genius and fame can suffer nothing in a competition with those of Hume, Voltaire, and Gibbon.

His lordship asked me, what I thought of the theory of Warburton, that the Jews had no distinct idea of a future state and that a state of future rewards and punishments was not, in the slightest degree, alluded to in any of the books of Moses? I said, "that I had often seen, but had never read his Divine Legation of Moses, although I was well acquainted with his theory, from having seen it so often stated and alluded to in other works. It is not necessary," I said, "to read his book to form a clear and decided opinion upon its subject, as we have the Bible and the whole history of man to guide us. No nation has ever been found without having some idea of a future state, and it would be strange to conclude, that the Jews were a solitary exception. Many passages of the Pentateuch distinctly imply it, and many events of the Jewish history, as well as the obvious import and meaning of the whole of their ceremonial law, must have rendered the idea familiar to those who were capable of reflection and observation. Had Warburton read his Bible with more simplicity and attention, and not allowed himself to be misled by the ambition of displaying his vast stores of erudition, he would have enjoyed a more solid and honourable, though perhaps less brilliant fame, than that which time has awarded to him."

He said one of the greatest difficulties which he had met with, and which he could not overcome, was the existence of so much pure and unmixed evil in the world, as he had witnessed; and which he could not reconcile to the idea of a benevolent Creator. He added, that wherever he had been, he had found vice and misery predominant, and that real happiness and virtue were rarely, if ever to be seen. He had made it, he said, his business to converse with, and inquire into, the history of many wretched and deformed creatures with whom he had met, and he generally found their history a record of unvarying misery from their very birth.

“How had these offended their Creator, to be thus subjected to misery? and why do they live and die in this wretched state, most of them without the gospel being preached to them, and apart from the happiness which it is said to produce? And of what use are they in this world? Many are constantly suffering under bodily evils and pains; many are suffering from constant pressure of poverty; many are doomed to incessant toil and labour, immersed in ignorance and superstition, and neither having time nor capacity to read the Bible, even if it were presented to them.” I said, “that the origin of evil would lead us into too wide a field for the present. I granted the extensive existence of evil in the universe, to remedy which the Gospel was proclaimed. I did not believe however, that the marks of the benevolence of the Deity were so scantily dispensed, either in the moral or physical world, as his lordship seemed to imagine; on the contrary, that they were conspicuous and innumerable, though mankind blindly shut their eyes to the perception of them. Moral evil was precisely in proportion to the vice and error which prevailed, and to the want of virtue and piety. I doubted if those miserable creatures, whom his lordship had met with, were so exclusively wretched as they represented themselves. They would naturally magnify their evil state, in order to obtain his lordship’s sympathy or assistance; and did we see (without being ourselves observed) the whole course of their lives, we should find as much contentment and comfort, perhaps, as among those whose condition appeared to stand in no need of our sympathy. Physical evils are far inferior to those which affect the mind. Privations that are hopeless of remedy are invariably submitted to with patience, and are often neither felt nor considered evils at all; and this is true, whether we refer to deformity, helplessness, or extreme poverty. But whatever may be the extent of these evils, it is doubtful whether they are not surpassed by the pangs of disappointed ambition, the stings of conscience, the bitings of envy, the failure of long-cherished hopes and schemes, the anxiety and care which the pursuit of wealth and distinction, and the effects of luxury and idleness, with their resulting vices, which may be witnessed among the higher classes of society. Besides, we find that misery and privation in this life, lead the mind to the hopes and promises of a future happiness; and the poorest in Christian countries must have heard and understood some of the leading doctrines of the Scriptures; and

their situation affords them no temptation to hesitate, with that spirit of scepticism which their superiors so often exhibit. Their labour is seldom so incessant but that they have time for instruction by preaching; and if they cannot read, it is the duty of those who can, to read the Scriptures to them. The end of living, or the preparation for eternal happiness, is as well accomplished among the miserable and poor, as among the rich, and if we believe the Scriptures, with much more facility. We may suppose that the noblest virtues are cultivated in adversity and want; and the most exquisite sources of happiness arise from the exercise of sympathy and benevolence. Each class in life has its peculiar virtues to exemplify. Physical evil is neither so abundant, nor so severe, and intolerable, as moral; and for the latter, the Gospel holds out a remedy. Wherever there is a defect of happiness,—at least of such happiness as this state of things is intended to convey,—there is a defect of duty and benevolence, not on the part of the Creator, but on that of man.”

“But how do these observations apply,” said his lordship, “to the physical and moral evil which we find among savages, where the Gospel has never been carried, and where there are no rich, to supply the means of instruction, or remedy, by their benevolence, the evils of poverty and want? Why are they deprived of this? and should not a perfectly benevolent Creator have sent the Gospel to them also?” “God has done so,” I answered; “and the fault lies with man alone. Those who have received the Bible, have not prized it as they ought. They have not felt its power, nor obeyed its precepts. If that love to our neighbour, which the Scriptures inculcate, had animated those whom the Bible has reached, they would have carried the Bible ages ago to every corner of the globe. Man is capable of doing much, when his pursuit is excited by what he deems an important object. The dangers of the sea have been encountered for the love of money, or science or power; and for the same motives every country has been traversed and explored; but no enterprise or exertions to such an extent have been made to carry to the heathen the knowledge of the Scriptures. This defect therefore, arises from the want of a true understanding and belief of the Scriptures, and from a positive neglect of its precepts.”

“What will become of the heathen at the last day?” asked his lordship. I said, “I might reply to him as Mr. Boyle did, when a person made a similar inquiry, ‘You can

be saved without knowing that.' I cannot give an opinion on a point on which I have no data, as the Scriptures seem to have been silent upon it. We know simply from them, that the heathen have a conscience which is capable of excusing or condemning them; that it acts as a law to them in place of a written law; that to whom much is given, from him much will be required; that if they are punished, their doom will be less severe than that of those who, having the Scriptures for their guide, neglect or deny them. The heathen are also described as perishing from the lack of knowledge. I can see that it is our duty to furnish them with the means of knowledge, but I cannot form any opinion with regard to their salvation. We know that God is just, and also a God of love and mercy; and we may rest perfectly satisfied, that whatever he may do, will be right. I do not value the opinions, or rather conjectures, which have been formed on this subject, because there cannot be the least degree of certainty in any of them. Some think that the heathen will not be saved, since there is no other name under heaven by which man can be saved except that of Jesus Christ; and this name has never reached them. Barclay, in his 'Apology for the Quakers,' believes that as the light of the sun is diffused a while after it is set,—so the influence of Christ's name may extend where it has never been heard; that God, who can work by means we know not of, and even without means, can produce in the heart of such of the heathen as may be saved, that change which the Scriptures teach as necessary; and hereafter they will then discover that they have been saved by the mercy of God, for the sake of Christ who died for all. This opinion is at least charitable and humane; but it is impossible for a fair reasoner to say more than, that he knows nothing of the subject."

"Is there not," said his lordship, "some part of the New Testament where it appears that the disciples were struck with the state of physical evil, and made inquiries into its cause?" "There are two passages," I said, "to which I suppose your lordship alludes. The disciples asked Christ, when they saw a man who had been born blind, whether this was owing to his own or his parents' sin? On another occasion his followers appear to have been asking some similar questions, in the cases of the men of Galilee, whom Pilate had killed, and in that of the men killed by the falling of the Tower of Siloam. He declares that, in the two latter cases, those who were killed were not greater sinners than

others; and with respect to the blind man, that it was neither on account of his parents' nor his own sin, that he was thus afflicted, but that the works of God might be made manifest in him. Hence it appears, that moral and physical evil in individuals are not always a judgment or punishment, but are intended to answer certain ends in the government of the world, and often, directly or indirectly, are productive of benefit both to the parties themselves and to others."

"Is there not," said his lordship, "a prophecy in the New Testament, which, it is alleged, has not been fulfilled, although it was declared that it should happen before the end of the then generation? It was declared that the end of the world would come before the generation then existing should pass away; and it is certain that many of the Jews took it in this sense, as they expected the speedy approach of the last day." "The prediction," I said, "related to the destruction of Jerusalem, which certainly took place within the time assigned; and though some of the expressions descriptive of the signs of that remarkable event, are of such a nature as to appear to apply to Christ's coming to judge the world at the end of time, yet the same interpretation, which is put on the prophetic language in the Old Testament, if used here, will limit the signification to the time of Christ's coming with power and glory to destroy Jerusalem. Besides, we find generally, in the prophecies of the Old Testament, that a literal as well as a spiritual fulfilment is included in one prediction; and we may readily admit on this principle, that some of those strong expressions in Christ's prediction, literally understood, apply to his coming at the last day. Having taken occasion from his stating the signs of his coming to destroy Jerusalem, to mention the signs of his coming at the last day, although the expression, 'that these things shall be fulfilled before this generation,' is intended exclusively to apply to the former event, it appears that the Thessalonians mistook an expression of Paul's in his first epistle to them, and inferred, that the end of the world was immediately at hand; but this error of theirs was corrected by the Apostle in his second epistle. In the days of the Fathers of the Church there were many that believed the Millenium to be then approaching. These, and similar mistakes, may be made by a slight and partial consideration of particular passages or expressions in the Scripture; but a close attention to, and due comparison of the whole, will enable one clearly to discern the truth. It cannot for a mo-

ment be supposed, that any mistake could be made by Christ and his Apostles."

His lordship asked me if I thought that there had been fewer wars and persecutions, and less slaughter, misery, and wretchedness in the world since the introduction of Christianity than before. I said, "that I did not wish at present to enter into so wide a field of discussion, though I myself had no doubt on the subject. To ascertain the point satisfactorily, it would be necessary to know how much blood had been shed before the Christian era, and how much since, and how much was to be ascribed to those that were real Christians, and how much to those who, under its mask, sought the accomplishment of their own selfish and ambitious ends. But I said, though it were granted that Christianity had been the occasion, though not the cause of the increase of bloodshed, it would only shew that its professors had mistaken its spirit, since pure Christianity inculcates peace and good will to all men, and we must always separate pure religion from the abuses, of which its professors are guilty.*

The conversation turned on the comparative number of men and women who believed, and on the conduct of Gibbon, who always joined women and priests together, as ready to believe in the grossest superstition and follies—the one party from self-interest, the other from fear. His lordship remarked, that women were naturally devout, when the passions of youth, and feeling of love, which is a principal object of their life, are exhausted; and that when they do love their Saviour, they are accused of retaining a mixture of their earthly love, blended with purer feelings, in their devotion. "Satirists have often said so," I replied. "If there really were any women of this description, it was a proof that they neither knew nor felt the power of religion. Gibbon thinks he confutes Christianity by linking priests and women together, as alike in weakness and perversion of understanding; and nothing seems to afford him more pleasure, than when he has apparently good grounds to display his irony and sarcasm against them; and even when he is compelled to mention any act of generosity or munificence, he ascribes it to some selfish and sinister motive, by insinuating such a phrase, as 'we may readily conceive'—'it may be supposed,' or—'it may be presumed.'"

There were two remarks made by his lordship during the conversation, which deserve to be recorded, though

* See Appendix. Note on page 44.

no effort of memory has enabled me to recall the circumstances of the conversation which led to them. I suppose I must have said something about the sovereignty of God, and alluded to the similitude used in Scripture of the potter and his clay; for I distinctly remember his lordship having said, that he would certainly say to the potter, if he were broken in pieces, "Why do you treat me thus?" The other observation was, that, "If the whole world were going to hell, he would prefer going with them, than go alone to heaven." These remarks were heard by the others with apparent approbation and applause. I remember, after his departure, conversing with M. and S., and remarking on this topic, that it was easy to talk thus, when he was not put to the test; but that if he were tried, his decision would be different, or human nature must be changed: the observation indicating equally the selfishness of man, and an ignorance of the true nature of the Christian religion.

Before the conversation was finished, a few other remarks, of no importance in themselves, were made. His lordship at last rose, after having sat from eleven till about three o'clock. He came up to me, and said, that "these were subjects which could not be discussed in a day, but required much time and deliberation. Why do you not print your thoughts on these subjects?" "Because," I replied, "it never occurred to me that it was necessary, as there are thousands of able men who have written on religion, and I have nothing new to offer, and am unable to put what has been already written in any clearer point of view." "But," said he, "every one has a different way of representing a subject, and the view which is old and useless to some, may be made, in other hands, new and useful to others." He then said, that they were very much obliged to me for the trouble I had taken with them. I replied, that "I was sorry I had been able to do so little good after so long a meeting." He smiled, and said, "We must not despair, as we can meet again." He then departed, accompanied by his friends.

This conversation excited an intense interest in Argastoli, and called forth many criticisms and remarks. By some I was blamed, both on account of the plan I had adopted, and on account of my presumption in undertaking a task to which I was unequal. Lord Byron was the theme of general admiration on account of his accuteness, extensive reading, and great knowledge of the Scriptures. A gentleman who was present at the meeting, said to me one day, "Did

you not see that his lordship had not only read all the books, on the subject which you had, but many more, which you confessed you had not read?" It was in vain for me to state the simple truth, that when I enumerated the various books which I had read or examined, his lordship said nothing of his having read or not having read these books, but merely asked me if I had read Barrow and Stillingfleet's works, and that, during the conversation when he asked me about Warburton and Sir William Hamilton's opinions, he did not assert that he had ever read their writings. "His lordship," I said, "may have read all of these books, and many more, but that I would certainly not believe it until I heard him say so. Every scholar," I added, "knew the names and peculiar theories and opinions of celebrated writers, and could easily obtain this information from various sources, without having read the works of those authors." Another gentleman, who was present at the meeting, told me that his lordship appeared to him, not only to have read more books on the subject, but that he also had the better of the argument. Though I differed from my friend in opinion, I could not but commend his frankness. The report spread generally that Lord Byron was profoundly acquainted with the Scriptures, and at length it was added, that I myself was astonished at the extent of his knowledge; and this with many other things, equally unfounded, has been stated in various publications. What my opinion of his lordship's acquaintance with the Scriptures was, could be testified, if it were a point of any consequence, by Major B., who asked me what I thought of Lord Byron's knowledge of the Scriptures, and by M., S., and M. One Sunday, when I was reproving them for allowing their judgment to be so influenced by the glare of his rank and fame, as to believe every thing he said original and profound, and attach an importance to it, as if it were inspired, I gave my opinion of his knowledge, which owing to some peculiar circumstances will not easily escape their memory.

After this there were seven or eight meetings held on the Sunday forenoons, at which S., M., M., and M. attended. His lordship, about this time, went to reside at the village of Metaxata, and was not present on these occasions. I did not take the liberty of asking him to come, conceiving that he was well aware that he had only to express his wishes, to have them gratified; and he on the other hand, either declined, without an invitation, or had no desire to come.

That he at one time expected to be present, was evident, from his saying to H., an officer with whom he was intimate, that he must now begin to study and prepare himself for our religious discussions. I rather wished to converse with his lordship alone, than in mixed society, as from what I had observed, his presence would have had no good effect upon my military friends, nor would he himself have been benefited, as he would have been incited to speak for the sake of impression and effect, and what he said would, by some at least, have been listened to with equal avidity and credulity.

At these meetings,* I went over very fully the whole of the topics comprehended under the head of the external evidence in favour of Christianity; and some of my hearers occasionally expressed their pleasure at the information which they received, and the new views on the subject which had been opened to their minds. At last they appeared to have tired, as twice all, except S., failed to attend at the time appointed; and as I did not conceive myself called upon to solicit their attendance, the discussion was considered as abandoned. Though I am not enabled to record any good effect which has resulted from these meetings, except simply an increase of knowledge on various points on which they were ignorant; yet I trust that my friends who were present at them, will some time or other recall to mind, with pleasure and satisfaction, the efforts which I made to do them good. After the first meeting at which Lord Byron was present, I would willingly have permitted the matter to drop: but I was deterred from proposing it lest it should be ascribed to a consciousness of my inability to execute the task which I had undertaken, arising from a conviction of my own ignorance, and the weakness of the cause.

Shortly after the first meeting, Lord Byron was invited by the officers to dine with them. At table Colonel D. sat between his lordship and myself; he soon drew me into conversation. As usual, he was polite, lively, and facetious; and what he said was, from time to time, eagerly listened to by the officers. We talked of St. Gerasimo, the patron saint of Cephalonia, whose anniversary had just been celebrated, and of the miracle which his bones are believed to perform when carried in procession, followed by the principal civil and military officers in the island, both Greek and English, from the convent to a neighbouring well; the water in which,

* See Appendix. Note on page 47.

upon his presence, is caused to rise. "Do the people believe in this miracle?" asked his lordship. "They seem to do so full with sincerity," I replied. He observed "that it was easy to persuade people of the truth of any thing if it came in a religious shape, as they then willingly give up both their senses and their reason." He then asked me, if I believed a miracle could be proved by human testimony. "Certainly," I said, "if the effect of the miracle remained, and was permanent in its nature and cognizable by the senses." He talked about the Apocalypse being a strange book, and that it had perplexed the early Christians to decide whether it was divine or not. I said, "the best people are puzzled on many subjects often without any sufficient reason; but that we now can have no difficulty, from the circumstance of some of the prophecies in it being literally fulfilled." "What prophecies in it have been fulfilled?" asked his lordship. "Those," I said, "with regard to the seven churches, which appear to have struck Gibbon himself in some degree, and those which relate to the low, oppressed, and corrupted state of the church at large, and the wars and persecutions, and bloodshed, which should arise in it. Did people," I said, "attend to these prophecies, instead of drawing an argument against Christianity from its slow progress and many corruptions, they would have seen, in the fulfilment of them, a fresh confirmation of its truth." We again reverted to the subject of St. Gerasimo, and I expressed my hope that when education was more extended, the gross superstitions of the Greek and Roman churches would cease, and we should hear no more of the miracles performed by the saints. I said that there were already signs of this improvement beginning to appear, as the Pope, who seemed to be rather a liberal kind of man, had at the request of the governor of Malta, lately abolished fifteen festas of the minor saints. "I like his holiness very much," said his lordship, "particularly since an order, which I understand he has lately given, that no more miracles shall be performed." In allusion to the character of the Pope, I was mentioning his kindness to a friend of mine, the celebrated missionary Wolff, and in giving some anecdotes of the latter, I mentioned the names of Mr. Henry Drummond and Lord Calthorpe. "Do you know those gentlemen?" said his lordship. "No," I replied, "except by report, which points them out as eminent for their piety." "I know them both well," he said, "they were not always so; but they are excellent men. Lord Calth-

orpe was the first who called me an atheist when we were at school at Harrow, for which I gave him as good a drubbing as ever he got in his life." Among the many anecdotes which his lordship told with humour and vivacity, was one which he said happened when he was in Italy. A church having taken fire, one of the saints held out his toe, and the conflagration immediately ceased, to the great delight and edification of the multitude. His lordship's manner was cheerful, affable, and lively.

Next Sunday, M., M., M., and myself, met in S.' house. On this occasion I wished to engage them a little more in the subject. I pointed out to them the propriety of remembering that each of the books of the New Testament was distinct and separate in itself, and that different individuals had composed them. Therefore they ought to be considered as distinct relations and testimonies, each confirming the other, and not as one testimony, as many imagine, from the circumstance of their being now always published together. The character of these authors I would leave till I had shewn the opinion of many men of great reputation on the subject of the Christian religion.

Beginning with Polycarp, the disciple of John, and Clemens of Rome, the fellow-labourer, as it is believed, of St. Paul, I read a long train of positive evidence and testimony of the earliest Christian writers and fathers down to the time of the Emperor Constantine, after which period there could be no doubt of the full tide of testimony in favour of this religion. I pressed upon them the rank, the talents, and the integrity of many of these writers, whose abilities and testimony could be deemed inferior to the negative testimony of the most celebrated infidel writers, only by those who rejected or undervalued them. I marshalled the conflicting testimonies together, and shewed that if the question was to be decided by authority alone, that it must be in favour of the Christians, as every circumstance which could constitute evidence, or give weight to it, was unequivocally in their favour.

The Christians were men who gave a proof of the sincerity of their principles by exposing themselves to persecution, to the loss of their estates and effects, and even to death itself. Their lives were unblemished and innocent, and they were occupied in acts of forgiveness and benevolence. Their abilities were of an order as high, or even higher, than their pagan opponents,—though the latter are

better known to scholars, as writing on subjects connected with philosophy, history, or poetry, than those of the Christians, whose works were all on the subject of religion.

If a strict review, indeed, is made of the talents of each party, no honest mind could long be at a loss to give a preference to the great erudition, the sound judgment, and manly eloquence of some of these writers. The amount of the whole is, that Tacitus, though acknowledged as an able historian and fine writer, did not know whether the Jews came from Mount Ida, and derived from it their name,—whether they were of Ethiopic descent, and driven out from Egypt for a contagious disease,—or whether Jerusalem is not mentioned by Homer under the name of Solymar. He states, apparently without doubt, that Moses, an exile, brought them from Egypt; that the people thirsting in the wilderness, and being likely to rebel, Moses had the cunning to follow some asses, who would, he knew, search out the first grass and water; and that in this way he pretended to get water by heavenly aid; that in order to retain his power and confirm his authority, he gave out that the laws which he imposed on them were given by heaven,—that they sacrificed the effigy of the ass, the animal to which they had been indebted for their lives when thirsting in the desert,—in the most sacred places of the Temple. And with respect to the Christians—“that they were haters of mankind, and their religion a detestable superstition.”

Pliny only learned something of the sect when they were accused as criminals before the tribunals, and, not finding them guilty of any moral crime, he yet thought it right to punish them for their obstinacy in refusing to worship the gods, and in persisting to call themselves Christians.

Except Porphyry, and Celsus, and Julian, who wrote against them, and who do not deny the accuracy of many of the accounts of the facts and miracles recorded in the Scriptures, most of the other writers either allude to them by the way of illustration, of ridicule, or contempt; and all the philosophers of the latter Platonic school appear to have considered Christianity as a philosophical system deserving of some attention, and accordingly, many of them blended its doctrines with the reveries of Plato and of the old Greek philosophers. In opposition to this, the Christian writers, by their numerous quotations from Scripture, by their arguments and explications of its doctrines, shew that they had deeply studied them, and understood them exactly in the

same sense as the Christians of every age, down to the present day, have invariably done.

After having thus given an historical view of the writers who either opposed or alluded to Christianity, and those who embraced, accepted, and defended it, or died for it, I read to them that chapter of Paley in which he shews the character of Christ as a moral preacher, and those points in which, simply considered in this light, he was not only original, but differed from, and excelled all other teachers whatever. Part of this was heard with attention; but some observations and criticisms having been occasionally made, a good deal of time was lost in discussing points which had no immediate connexion with the subject.

In order to come, therefore, to what was really useful, I proposed to them that we should meet every Wednesday night, as well as Sunday, by which means our course of discussion would be the sooner ended. This was readily agreed to, and the meeting was appointed to be held in my house. The chapter in Horne's excellent work, entitled, "Testimonies from natural and civil History to the credibility of the Old Testament," was my text book. I read passages and commented on them. My object was to shew, that among the various, strange, and contradictory mythologies of the ancient nations, there was a mixture of truth blended with them respecting the creation of the world, an universal deluge, and various other particulars of the early history of man,—such as the primeval chaos, the division of time into weeks, the fall of man and the introduction of sin and misery, the worship of the serpent, and the necessity of sacrifice as an expiation for sin. A good deal of conversation took place on the pretensions of various nations to antiquity, and the claim of such inventions and astronomical observations as implied a contradiction of Scripture chronology.

At our next assembling I read the testimonies of Manetho, Eupetinos, Artapanes, Tacitus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Justin, Juvenal, Porphyry, Julian, and Mahommed, to shew that Moses was a real character, and not a mythological person, as some have impudently asserted, and that he lived long before Sanconiathon, who, according to them, lived before the Trojan war.

The history of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is attested by Diodorus, Siculus, Strabo, Solinus, Tacitus, Pliny, and Josephus. Barnes, Alexander Polytresh, Nic-

olaus Damascenus, Artapanes, and other historians cited by Josephus and Eusebius, make honourable mention of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph. The departure of the Israelites from Egypt, and their miraculous passage of the Red Sea, are mentioned by Berosus, Artapanes, Strabo, Diodorus, Siculus, &c. These, and many other circumstances of minor importance, which I pointed out, proved the real existence of Moses, and called upon us to examine his history, and those parts of his character which would mark his credibility or incredibility. I then referred to the external proof of the genuineness of the Old Testament; the historical testimony and character of the Jews; the internal evidence, the language, style and manner of writing, circumstantiality of the narration; and the proofs of the genuineness and authority of the Pentateuch in particular; from the nature of the Mosaic law, and the united historical testimony of Jews and Gentiles.

As they seemed pleased with the subject, at our next meeting I endeavoured to put them in fuller possession of the whole facts and opinions of ancient nations respecting their early history and worship, or mythology. The specimen I read I said, would give them an idea of the extent, the obscurity, and difficulty of tracing the religious opinions of the earliest nations; since for a long period after the commencement of mankind, nothing, as far as we know, had been committed to writing, and the accounts we have of them, have been given by authors who lived long after the period of which they write. The same uncertainty exists in the history of all early nations, examples of which might be cited in the histories of Scotland, Ireland, China, Greece, and Rome, where much of what is related is nothing else but fiction and fable. Hesiod, the earliest of the Greek writers, in his *Theogony*, may be referred to as an instance of the impossibility of arriving at truth on these subjects. It is not necessary, I said, to adopt Bryant's theory in its full extent, as it was evident that he had advanced many opinions, which, though ingenious, could not be received as sound, for they were founded on data, which were obscure, fabulous, and contradictory. No man of sober sense, judging of these things, could form any decided opinion, as he had no means by which to correct the discrepancies; nor was it of the least importance, whether one nation borrowed from another,—whether the Greeks from the Egyptians,—or the Egyptians from the Hindoos, since, if this was settled,

the whole would still rest upon the same uncertain foundation. There was one thing, however, amidst this mass of fable which was clear and discernible, namely, the reference to the creation of the world, and to a deluge which overspread the earth. These two events stand prominent amidst the darkness. All the eastern nations, of whose mythology we have any account, appear to have had among them traditions and a belief of these two events, which are recorded to have happened in various ways, under various circumstances, and by various agents,—the whole attended with circumstances so absurd, so ridiculous, so inconsistent and unnatural, that they require only to be mentioned to be laughed at.

The history of Moses, on the contrary, gives a succinct, but clear account of the creation of the world, the introduction of sin and misery, the character and age of the antediluvians, the universal deluge, the re-peopling of the earth, and the dispersion of its inhabitants. The sober inquirer has to choose between Moses' account, and the innumerable absurdities of the ancients. With a man who should prefer their accounts before Moses', and say, that these are true, and his are false, I would never attempt to reason, but would leave him to the enjoyment of his own opinions. For we must either adopt Moses' account, or those of the ancients, (and except in two principal events, the Creation and deluge, they are contradictory,) or we must reject them both. We cannot say that Moses, a man of superior ability, extracted, from the mass of contradiction which the ancients have given a clear and consistent statement; for Moses lived anterior to the earliest of the ancient writers: and though some of them must have either read or heard of his account they nevertheless give their strange cosmogonies and theogonies, which is the subject in question. If we reject them altogether, we must confess our utter ignorance of every event in the history of the earth, and of nations prior to the 600th year before the christian era. It will be vain to expect further light to be thrown on the history of these early times, by future researches or investigations into the histories and archives of the barbarous tribes, which inhabit the few distant isles of the earth not yet sufficiently explored, or of those who roam in the midst of a vast continent of Africa. The Deist, to be consistent, must confess his ignorance whether the world was created or not, or by whom, whether by Vishnu or Budha; he must find its archives,

and the history of its early inhabitants, in the wild dreams of some geographers and world-makers; that is, he must substitute his conjectures for facts, and call his imagination, reason.

If, however, a man exercise his reason soberly; if he consider Moses' account clear and consistent, the circumstances worthy of the events and narration; and if he believe, from other evidence, abundance of which still remains, that Moses' account is true, he can form an opinion which will at least amount to probability. Taking for granted that the world has been created, and that a deluge overspread the earth, events which are found in all histories, he will easily conceive how, in progress of time, these two great events would be disguised among barbarous tribes, being handed down by tradition, and how every different nation, according to its circumstances of improvement or deterioration, would vary the narrations of these great events. So that, while we discern them standing prominent, as we really do in all the accounts, we should find a disagreement in all the collateral circumstances. Nor is it necessary to suppose that the obscure knowledge of these events was derived from the Jews or their early history, because the people who lived soon after the deluge, could not but have some knowledge of such an event before the nation of the Jews had an existence. On the whole of these facts, I told them that I wished them to form no other opinion for the present, than that Moses' account was entitled, considering him merely as an historian, to as much credit as that of any, or all the most ancient writers; that their account is not contradictory to that of Moses, nor by any means disproves its genuineness and authenticity; that the earliest writers refer to him as a real personage: thus, Moses did write an account of those times, which must stand or fall on its own peculiar evidence, since no external evidence from ancient history can disprove its antiquity and its priority to all publications. Admitting Moses' narration as true, we have a key to account for all the absurdities of ancient mythology; it is not proved to be untrue by that mythology itself, which cannot be true, unless contradiction be truth, and tradition certainty.

"These arguments," I said, "do not prove that Moses has spoken the truth, nor are they sufficient to induce us to believe that he has spoken it. His book may have been written at the early period which is claimed for it, and he may

have been its real author ; yet we were not bound to believe it, if there be any thing in the book which is contradicted by fact or testimony more certain and more indisputable than his." I said, " that I had read enough at least to justify me to give a glance at the character of Moses and the facts which he relates, to see if any thing could be inferred for or against his credibility. I then mentioned those particulars in Moses' life and conduct which shew that he was no impostor ; that his statements were corroborated by the Jews in every age, which would have been impossible if the belief of them had not been universal ; since no one in any age had ever dared, and perhaps had never thought of affirming, that the statements of Moses were untrue. The origin of every belief ; of right of inheritance, of worship, was derived from the works of Moses ; every writer whose works we find in the Bible, refers to Moses, or implies that his history was well known and true ; and the writings of the Old Testament were connected with the New, by the direct reference and quotations not only of Christ, but of his apostles. I referred to the 11th chapter of the Hebrews, where St. Paul takes a review of the principal pious men who lived in the earliest ages. As far as external evidence goes, the writings of Moses were proved beyond a doubt, and the accuracy and perfect preservation of them are proved by the fact, that the Samaritan copy, made in the time when Israel was separated from Judah, agrees with the copies preserved by the Jews ; while the translation of the Scriptures made into the Greek language, called the Septuagint, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt, two hundred and fifty years before the Christian era, affords another source of ascertaining the accuracy of the writings of the Old Testament, since all these copies, when compared, agree perfectly in every respect, making only an exception for verbal discrepancies, on points of inferior moment, and that too without often affecting the sense.

I informed them that, at our next meeting, the subject of our conversation would be miracles, a subject to which I requested their earnest attention ; for, unless they gave me this, all I could read or say would be useless. After some observations, I found my hearers were more disposed to talk than be attentive. I read a passage from Dr. Priestley : some discussion arose at first about its meaning, which branched out into other topics. Some of them got very warm, and one of them, forgetting all his former information, and ac-

knowledge of it, exclaimed that the whole was a mystery, and the more he read and heard of the subject, the more mysterious and incomprehensible it became. Observing this frame of mind, I did not wish to press the subject further that night, and contented myself with stating, that the incomprehensibility did not arise from the subject, but from want of attention and study in themselves; that they judged from their own ignorance, and the time I hoped would come, when they would be astonished at [their obstinacy and blindness. We then joined the ladies, and the conversation turned on other topics.

Although I did not finish the subject with my hearers, I may be permitted to offer a few observations for my readers' satisfaction.*

Next Sunday, M., M., M., S., and myself met at S.'s house. I proposed the consideration of the Prophecies, and I added, "I hoped it would interest them more than the Miracles, a subject which I was not disposed to continue at present, because of their former inattention." I remarked, "that surely they could not deny, that if events were predicted hundreds and thousands of years before they had really taken place, those who had predicted them must have been inspired. And whatever difficulty might have occurred, if one prophecy only had been made,—as to the conclusion respecting this inspiration,—there could be none where there were many prophecies, and where these had been literally fulfilled. Great sagacity, or great genius, or even some fortunate conjectures, might seem, as it were, to predict changes and events which were afterwards realized; as in the case of Lord Chesterfield, who, forty years before the French revolution, expressed in a private letter his opinion, that he saw, in the then state of France, all the signs of a general revolution. These happy conjectures have taken place, and may hereafter take place; but," I added, "they were totally different from prophecies, at least from the prophecies of the Scriptures, where things most unlikely to happen were predicted, and that, with a minuteness of circumstance as to time, and place, and name, that the greatest sagacity or the most profound genius in the most fortunate conjectures, could never pretend to equal. If the power of prophecy in this manner was within compass of the abilities of man, and if any one ever possessed it, I should like

* See Appendix. Note on page 56.

to know where his name is recorded. The prediction of certain events, to take place in futurity, belongs certainly to Omniscience. Neither angels nor devils can possess it, unless so far as it may be revealed, since everything that concerns created beings is to them contingent as to futurity, and no contingency can afford certain knowledge. To the Creator, however, this peculiarly belongs, because every thing in existence now, or that will exist in time to come, depends on His will, and that will is omnipotent, independent, and uncontrollable by any agent, act, or volition of every created being or thing. This certainty, therefore, of what will occur, belongs to Him alone and to no other. That it can belong to man is clearly impossible, from the imperfection of his nature. He may conjecture that such an event may or may not happen, but he has no certain knowledge of this till the event take place, since it depends on circumstances over which he has no control."

After some other observations, pointing out the important and irresistible evidence arising from prophecy, I said I would entreat their patience while I read to them. I began with the first prophecy in the Scripture, and read it with Scott's comment. At the fall, the Lord himself predicted the following events. The Lord said unto the serpent, "Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, above every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust thou shalt eat all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel." Unto the woman he said, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." And unto Adam he said, "Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of the woman, and hast eaten of the fruit of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat; cursed be the ground for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground."

This includes a prophecy and a promise which has ever since been fulfilling, but has not yet received its entire accomplishment. It comprises the whole Gospel, and is a prophetic history of the opposition with which it should meet, and the success with which it should be crowned in all

ages and countries to the end of time. Christ himself is the seed of the woman. He is called the seed of the woman, and not the seed of Adam, though descended from both, not only because Satan had prevailed first against the woman, but likewise with an evident prophetic intimation of his miraculous conception and birth of a pure virgin. The devil, his angels, and wicked men, are the serpent and his seed. "Ye are of your father the devil, and the works of your father ye will do." God himself has put enmity between these two contending parties. The effect of his grace in the hearts of true Christians is enmity,—not against the persons of sinners,—but against their character, the image of Satan which they bear, and the cause of Satan which they favour; for that mind is in believers which was in Christ, "who was manifested to destroy the works of the devil." Their character and conduct also, the testimony which they bear against the wickedness of the world, and the opposition which they make to it, as well as the success which the Lord vouchsafes them, excite the rage, envy and malice of Satan and his servants; whose pride they offend, whose consciences they disturb, whose real characters they detect, and whose iniquity they oppose. Hence Satan and his seed, by open violence and cruel persecution, by secret machinations, and base slanders, by artful temptations and pernicious heresies, fight against the seed of the woman. In doing this, they bruise his heel. They once crucified the Lord of glory himself; they have massacred, perhaps, millions of his disciples, have caused inward and outward tribulations; yet this is no mortal wound, for it does not prevent the final glorification of the whole multitude who thus in succession have Satan bruised under their feet. The seed of the woman fighting under the Redeemer's standard, by the doctrine of truth and the armour of righteousness, which are united with prayer and patience, hatred of sin and compassion for sinners, carry on their benevolent war; and they gain most illustrious victories when the power of Satan is broken, and his deluded servants are brought to Christ. But these victories are the fruit of his severe conflict and glorious triumph over the tempter, especially upon the cross, where in human nature giving a ransom for sinners he broke the whole force of Satan's usurped empire, and now, risen from the dead, and having all the power in earth and heaven vested in him, he is continually employed in crushing the serpent's head,—yet in measure, and order, according to the purpose of Him

who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will. (Ephes. i. 11.) Already by his apostles and ministers he has shaken the very foundation of Satan's kingdom, and rescued millions of his wretched captives: but ere long he will, even on earth, gain a more decisive victory, and at last, setting his foot on the serpent's head, he will entirely crush his interests, deprive him of all power to do further mischief, and execute condign punishment on all his seed. (Rev. xix. 17; xx. 1, 3, 11, 15.)—From this short explication, we perceive that the person, sufferings, glory, and triumphs of the Redeemer; the character, tribulations, and felicity of the redeemed; the temporary success and final ruin of all the enemies of Christ and his people,—and indeed almost the whole history of the church and the world throughout time and to eternity, are compendiously delineated in the singular clause which stands, and will stand, to the end of time, an internal demonstration that the Scriptures were given by inspiration from God. It is remarkable that this gracious promise of a Saviour was given unsolicited, and previous to any humiliation on the part of man.

Thus the Gospel, or the declaration of salvation to sinners by means of the seed of the woman, was proclaimed the moment that sin entered the world. The prediction is still fulfilling with respect to man, who toils in sorrow, sweat, and care for his subsistence; and also with respect to woman, in the sorrows and dangers of conception, of birth, and in the prediction that man would rule over her; and how cruelly he has ruled, thousands of instances attest. If the soul of woman is upon an equality with that of man, I know not on grounds, except on the supposition that the Scriptures are true, and the punishment of the woman is heaviest because she was first in the fault, we can explain the inequality in sorrow and care which exists between the man and the woman; and why, all other things being equal, there is a load of weakness, and sorrow, and infirmity in her very frame from which the man is free.

I then read the three first verses of the 12th chapter of Genesis, in which the Lord speaking to Abraham, predicted that he would make of him a great nation, and make his name great, and bless him, and make him a blessing, and that in him all the families of the earth should be blessed. This has been fulfilled in some respects, and is fulfilling in others. Abraham was not renowned as a king, a conqueror, nor as a man of science or literature. He was a plain

man, dwelling in tents, and feeding cattle all his days. The Arabians and Jews are his descendents, yet no general or man of genius has a name so great, or is more distinguished in the world even now, or will be, than Abraham has been and will ever be. In what other way will he be a blessing, or has been so, than that among his descendents the light of the Gospel was preserved and proclaimed in all its fulness, and that from one of his descendants after the flesh,—Jesus Christ, not only temporal but eternal blessings have spread, and will more extensively spread to every nation and family under heaven? This was predicted four thousand years ago.

I then read the 16th chapter of Genesis and 12th verse, in which the character of Ishmael is described, and that of his descendants. He is a wild man, and his hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand against him, and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren. The Arabs have been a race of plunderers in every age. They have never been conquered, and at this very day they still retain the character given them; their hand is against every man, and every man's hand is against them.

I then referred to the blessings pronounced by Jacob upon his children, and showed, by reference to history, the character of each tribe about to be formed and blessed in future times. That respecting Judah is particularly remarkable. The sceptre should not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from under his feet, till Shiloh come, and to him shall the gathering of the people be. Shiloh—The sent, the seed, the peaceable, the prosperous one. Judah was the fourth son, and had no apparent likelihood of gaining the pre-eminence over his brothers, much less the kingly power. Yet all the successors of his brethren are called after him, and the sceptre did not depart till Shiloh, or Jesus, came, after which it departed, and has never returned again.

I then read the 26th chapter of Leviticus, which contains a prediction of what has befallen and still befalls the Jews, and particularly the 32nd, 33d, 34th, 35th, and 44th verses, where they are warned—that if they neglected the command of the Lord, the land should be a desolation, and they themselves should be scattered among the heathen, and the land should be desolate as long as they shall be in their enemies' land.

I pointed out the prophecy in Numbers,* in which the

* Chap. xxiv. 17.

Messiah is predicted; that* in which the affliction of the Jews by the Assyrians and Romans is foretold, together with the utter desolation of Assyria and Rome.

I read the 4th of Deuteronomy, from the 27th to the 32d verse, in which the scattering of the Jews among the nations, and their preservation among them, is predicted. A prophet like unto Moses is predicted in the 18th chapter, 15th to the 20th verse. In the 31st chapter, 20th to 30th verse, the rebellion and idolatry of the Jews is predicted; and the evil which would befall them in the latter days. Also the 28th chapter, from the 15th verse to the end, where all that has happened to the Jews is denounced. I pointed out that prediction in the 37th verse, about which, I said, there could be no dispute—"And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a bye-word among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee." That this has been fulfilled, no one will deny:—the name of Jew has every where been proverbial for every thing that was vile and base among Christians, Mahomedans, and Pagans, who have all joined in promoting the fulfilment of the prophecy and accomplishing the will of the Lord, although, in doing so, they have committed iniquity themselves.

Proceeding onward, I referred to the sublime song of Hannah in the beginning of the 2nd chapter of Samuel, where for the first time we meet with the name of the Messiah, or anointed. The 7th chapter of the 2nd Samuel, 16th verse, where God declares to David that his house and his kingdom shall be established forever before him, and his throne also shall be established forever—predicting not only the temporal power of his posterity, but the spiritual power which Christ, a descendant of David, inherited, now exercises, and will for ever possess. In the 1st Kings, chapter xiii. ver. 2, Josiah, king of Judah, is predicted, by name, three hundred years before his birth. I then read the remarkable verse in Job, chapter xix., v. 25, 26, which is a confession of faith in Christ. "For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the last day upon the earth; and though after my skin, worms shall destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God."

I quoted that prophecy where it is declared the Lord himself shall give a sign. "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bare a son, and shall call his name Emmanuel,

* Ver. 22, 23, 24.

i. e. God with us*.” (See Matthew, chap. i.) Here it is not said that a woman, now a virgin, shall be married and conceive, but that a virgin shall conceive and bare a son. The 11th chapter of Isaiah is another prediction of the Messiah. In the 13th chapter it is declared that Babylon shall never be inhabited, neither shall the Arabian pitch his tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. In the 45th† chapter there is a prediction of Cyrus, king of Persia, by name, nearly two hundred years before his birth; in the 49th is another prediction of the Messiah; the 53rd chapter contains the plainest and most circumstantial prediction of the coming, character, death, and resurrection of our Saviour. In the 51st chapter of Jeremiah are recorded the particulars of the siege of Babylon, and the final and utter destruction of that city. After the siege Babylon, ceased to be a royal city, the kings of Persia preferring Susa, Ecbatana, and Persepolis. The Macedonians built Selucia in its neighbourhood, according to Strabo and Pliny, for the purpose of withdrawing its inhabitants. The new kings of Persia, who afterwards became masters of Babylon, completed its ruin by building Ctesiphon, which carried away the remainder of the inhabitants. When Pausanias wrote in A. D. 96, the walls only remained. The kings of Persia, finding it deserted, made a park of it, which they kept for the hunting of wild beasts; at length the walls fell down, and were never repaired. The animals kept for the chase deserted it, and scorpions and serpents took possession. The Euphrates took its course another way, and Babylon has become an utter desert; and at this day, the most able geographers cannot determine with certainty the place where it stood,

I then read the prediction against Tyre‡, where the Lord declares he will make it like the top of a rock, that it should be a place to spread nets upon. “Thou shalt be built no more, for I the Lord have spoken it.” Tyre is at present inhabited by a few wretched fishermen, who dry their nets on the top of the rock.

The prediction against Egypt came next||. It is declared that it shall be the basest of kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations. Egypt was once renowned, but was subdued by the Persians, next by the

*Isaiah vii. 14.

† Ezek. xxvi.

‡ See Appendix.

|| Ezek. xxix. 15.

Macedonians, then by the Saracens, and finally by the Turks to whom it remains in the most abject servitude. For 2000 years it has been a base and tributary kingdom, and unable to exalt itself above the nations*.

I then read the prediction of the four kingdoms which were to arise; that in the days of these kingdoms shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever†. “Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces; . . . and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the earth‡.”

I then introduced the Prophet's delineation of the Babylonian empire, which is represented under the character of a lion,—the Medes and Persians under that of a bear,—the Macedonian under that of a leopard,—the Roman empire under the emblem of a beast, terrible and dreadful, with great iron teeth, and with ten horns; and a little horn which rose up among these horns. This little horn which had eyes, and a mouth which spake great things, and whose look was made stouter than his fellows, was to make war with the saints, and to prevail against them till the Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given to the Saints of the Most High, and the time came that the Saints should possess the kingdom||.

In the 8th chapter, the empire of the Medes and Persians is introduced, under the emblem of a ram with two horns. It was usual for the kings of Persia to wear a diadem of gold, made like a ram's head. The Macedonian empire, under the character of a goat, is represented as destroying the ram. The Macedonians were originally called *Ægeadæ*, or the goat's people. The division of the empire into four principal monarchies is also predicted, when, it is said, “the great horn was broken, and for it came up four notable ones, towards the four winds of heaven. These were the kingdoms of Egypt to the south, of Syria to the east, Thrace and Bythinia to the north, and Macedonia to the west. The Mahomedan heresy is predicted, in the 9th and three following verses, under the character of a little horn, who should

* See Appendix.

† Dan. ii. 44.
|| Dan. vii. 22.

‡ Dan. ii. 34, 35.

come forth out of one of the four horns. That there might be no mistake as to the meaning of this emblematical language, it is expressly stated, "The ram which thou sawest, having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia, and the rough goat is the king of Grecia; and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation*."

The little horn, which rose up among the ten horns, from the beast representing the Roman empire, is predicted as plucking up three of the horns, or the ten kingdoms in which the Roman empire was to be divided. Now it appears from history, that the kingdom of the Heruli, that of the Ostrogoths, and that of the Lombards, were successively eradicated by the little horn representing the papal power, which in this way became a temporal as well as a spiritual power. The horn which was to have a mouth speaking great things, aptly represents the Roman papal power; the title of His Holiness, another God on earth, his claim to infallibility,—his dispensing with God's laws to forgive sins, —to give admission to heaven,—and to relieve from purgatory, are specimens of the great things which this mouth has spoken. In A. D. 606, by a decree of Phocas, emperor of Constantinople, the bishop of Rome was constituted universal bishop, and supreme head of the church. In the very same year, the Mahomedan delusion commenced, which was predicted in the 22nd and following verses of the 8th chapter. Daniel states, "that this opposition to the Prince of princes will commence when the transgressors are come to the full." St. Paul says that the delusion of the man of sin shall be sent as a punishment because men believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness. By the Prophet and the Apostle, the same period is assigned for the rise of the two powers. St. John also assigns to each of them the same duration, and speaks of the time of their end as the same.

The little horn, and the two-horned beast, represent the same ecclesiastical power—the one at its rise, the other at its height. Hence Daniel, who describes fully the little horn, makes no mention of the two-horned beast; while John,† who describes the two-horned beast, styling him a false prophet, makes no mention of the little horn.

* Dan. viii. 22.

† Rev. xiii. 11—17.

It is predicted* that the little horn which rose out of the four horns of the Grecian monarchy was to magnify himself, to take away the daily sacrifice, and cast down the place of his sanctuary, and cast the truth to the ground. It is declared that the sanctuary shall be trodden under foot 2300 days; that is, the duration of the vision from the time the prophet saw it till the end of this Antichristian or Mahomedan power. It is 2373 years since Daniel wrote. The Septuagint read 2400 days. In Revelations it is stated that the holy city was to be trodden under foot forty-two months, or 1260 days. Daniel says, from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, shall be 1290 days. The 1260 days of John and the 1290 of Daniel form a part of the 2300 days; and these were all to terminate at one time, when the desolation which affected the church would be removed.

I then read the following most remarkable prophecy of Daniel. "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy. Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks, and in threescore and two weeks the streets shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times, and after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself; and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease; and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate." Here from the edict for rebuilding Jerusalem shall be sixty-nine weeks, after which, in the seventieth week, the Messiah shall be cut off, but not for himself—the people of the prince shall destroy the city.

Each day is in these prophecies a year: seventy weeks are four hundred and ninety days. The most eminent chro-

* Dan. viii. 11.

nologists compute it to have been nearly four hundred and ninety years from the commission granted to Nehemiah* to the death of Christ, and some contend that it was so with the greatest exactness. This was divided into three subordinate periods. During seven weeks, or forty-nine years, the street and wall were to be built in troublous times; from the expiration of this term to the beginning of the ministry of John the Baptist, or to that of our Lord, was (as some compute) four hundred and thirty-four years, or sixty-two weeks, and the last week or seven years is allotted to the ministry of John, and of Christ himself until his crucifixion; for he was to be cut off after the seven and the sixty-two weeks, or in the seventieth week.

It therefore appears undeniable, that Daniel foretold that the Messiah would come within less than five hundred years from a decree granted for rebuilding Jerusalem; he showed that he would be put to death by a legal sentence (for so the word implies,) and he expressly predicted that, in consequence, Jerusalem and the temple would be desolated, and the nation of the Jews exposed to tremendous punishment. Within that time Jesus of Nazareth appeared; he answered in every respect the description given of him by all the prophets: he was put to death as a deceiver, yet vast multitudes became his disciples, and Christianity gained a permanent establishment. After a short time Jerusalem and the temple were destroyed, and the state of the Jews to this day is a striking comment on this prediction. How then can it be denied that Daniel spake by Divine inspiration? Or that Jesus is the promised Messiah?—Both these important points might be demonstrated by this one prophecy, even if it stood alone; how much more when it is only one star in a resplendent constellation—one among a great number of predictions, all of which combine with united evidence to confirm the same grand truths?

Since Daniel mentions expressly that Greece and Persia were represented by the two beasts—the one a ram, the other a he-goat, we have a certain key to the interpretation of the others; and when the fact is certain, that from the time of the edict to build Jerusalem to the death of the Messiah, would be seventy weeks or four hundred and ninety years, and, that by every system of chronology it appears that the distance between the events was four hundred and ninety years, what further evidence can be required?

* See Appendix.

I alluded to the prediction of the destruction of Nineveh in the book of Nahum. Nineveh was one of the most flourishing and populous cities in the world, and at the head of a powerful empire. Yet within two hundred years after the coming of Christ nothing remained of this proud capital of the Assyrian empire; and at this day it is not agreed, either among learned men or travellers, where Nineveh stood.

I then read from Horne the principal prophecies respecting our Saviour, which I shall put down briefly for the benefit of my readers. I referred also to the prophecies which predicted that he was to be a prophet and a legislator like unto Moses,—that he was to be a teacher, to instruct and enlighten man; that he was to be Messiah, Christ, anointed of God, a priest; that by offering himself for sin he was to make reconciliation for iniquity; make men holy, and destroy the power of the devil; that he was to be a Saviour, a Mediator, an Intercessor, a Shepherd, a King; the head and ruler of the church, and exalted after his sufferings and resurrection.

I then referred to Christ's prediction, "that he was to be betrayed by one of his own disciples—that the others would forsake him—that Peter would deny him." He mentions the circumstance, place, and manner of his sufferings, his resurrection, his appearance again, and his ascension. He foretold the destruction of Jerusalem—that it would be preceded by the appearance of false Messiahs, by wars, and commotions, famines, pestilence, and earthquakes, fearful sights in the heavens, and persecution of the Christians; by the preaching of the Gospel through the then known world; and that Jerusalem should be besieged by the Roman armies. He describes the miseries of the Jews during the siege; predicts that false priests and prophets should arise, and that the temple and city of Jerusalem should be totally destroyed.

To S., I afterwards showed the prophecies which completed the course I wished to lay before them.

When reading the prophecies of Daniel, a long discussion took place about the interpretation of a year for a day, and the reason for it; and they produced instances where years were mentioned; and demanded to know whether the same mode of prophetic interpretation, with respect to the prophetic days, was to be adopted. I said that the prophecies themselves furnished a key for this mode of calculation.

Some of my hearers exclaimed very much against the obscurity of the prophecies, and expressed their regret that

plain language was not used, and the usual mode of computation adopted, but as I was desirous of finishing the course of prophecies necessary to be laid before them, I requested them to be content to listen to me for the present, and I would afterwards attend to any objection or difficulty which occurred to them. I then continued to read the prophecies which respected our Saviour.

During the reading of the prophecies one of the gentlemen held a Bible in his hand, and turned to every passage which I read. He expressed his surprise at such wonderful predictions and coincidences, especially at those which referred to Christ. The impression was however, quickly removed, for while we were standing conversing a little previous to separation, the same gentleman, as well as the others, forgetting all that had been advanced, and the surprise and interest they had exhibited, expressed their belief that the whole subject was involved in the most inexplicable mystery, and that the more they heard, with less clearness did they discern the truth of anything like a system, which they could think probable to have been revealed by the Creator.

Although I saw no immediate fruit from the lecture on the prophecies, I was pleased to have been able to bring them in an extended view before them. I was less anxious about the miracles, knowing the prejudices against them. But the prophecies I consider not only the strongest evidences in an argument with a deist, but an evidence in fact, which, when properly displayed, no deist can set aside; for, if he reasons fairly, he must either be compelled to acknowledge the Divine inspiration of the Scriptures, or show himself incapable of using that reason of which he makes so great a boast.

The evidence from miracles, though excellent and useful in its kind, is inferior to that from prophecy. The belief that we have in miracles, arises partly from the testimony of witnesses who saw them, a testimony believed in every succeeding age; and partly from all the other evidence which supports the truth of these Divine books. It is strengthened not merely by direct evidence, corroborated by the belief of every age, but by the want of all indirect or opposing evidence—for no one has ever testified that he was present at these alleged miracles, and that they were false; and by the fact, that among so many, so strange, and striking miracles, performed in the presence of thousands, no enemy of the Christian name has ever appeared to deny them. I am not

speaking here of the evidence which the real Christian has, for, as I shall afterwards point out, he has an evidence greater than that which results from miracles or prophecies. I refer to the evidence most calculated to produce conviction in the minds of those who exercise well their natural reason.

I would request the deist to explain by what power the minute circumstances of our Saviour's birth, life, death, and resurrection, even to the mention of the thirty pieces of silver, for which he was betrayed, and the casting of lots for his garments, were foretold. Can he prove that Jesus of Nazareth never existed? Profane history would belie him. Was it human sagacity that predicted these events, or was it chance?

This might be a plausible supposition if amidst a thousand conjectures, one might have proved true; but what will he say when he sees that every prophecy in the Scriptures was fulfilled, even on those minute points which no sagacity could foresee? Will he say that the prophecies were written after the event? even this conjecture will not avail him. For he cannot but confess that the Septuagint translation was made from the Hebrew Scriptures two hundred and fifty years before Christ was born, and he can satisfy himself of their accuracy and agreement, by comparing them with the Hebrew or Samaritan copy.

If then these prophecies existed two hundred and fifty years (at least,) before Christ, he is reduced to the alternative, either that they were human conjectures, or predicted by inspiration from heaven. If the former, by what process of reasoning can he show that future events, various and minute, can with certainty be predicted at so long a period before they occurred. If a man can show parallel instances in history, or at the present day, that minute particulars were fulfilled, three centuries after their prediction, by the mere force and strength of human reason, I will willingly give up all evidence for the Scriptures, arising from prophecy; but if he cannot, as I am sure he cannot, I am entitled to pronounce his rejection irrational and illogical.

I have already observed, that no created being can predict events, since no one has power over futurity but the Deity; it is his prerogative alone, and created beings can only do it in as far as he makes them the instruments or agents of his will.

The destruction of Babylon and Nineveh might have

been conjectured, but no impostor could have ventured his reputation on their utter ruin, since it was possible, that, however various might be the vicissitudes of these immense capitals, they would always continue to have inhabitants. But the prophets hesitated not to pronounce their complete destruction; and history attests the fact. The same observation applies to Tyre. It is equally strong with respect to the Jews. Nearly four thousand years ago, Moses declared that they would be scattered among the nations; would be driven from the land of Canaan; their cities destroyed, and that themselves would become a proverb, a laughing-stock, and a scorning among all nations. An attentive consideration of this prophecy alone, ought to produce a conviction of the truth of Christianity. The prophecy is fulfilling under our own eyes, and surely it is the most extraordinary one that was ever uttered. No art, no political scheme, no persecution has succeeded either in destroying this nation, or in amalgamating them with others. They are still a separate, distinct, and peculiar people; preserved by the power of God, in defiance and opposition to all ordinary nations, for 1800 years; and though persecuted and despised, they consider themselves superior to those who oppress them, and look forward to a restoration to their own land.

By means of the prophecies, we have a distinct view and knowledge of the great outlines of future events to the end of time. There is no other book but the Bible which explains to man the object and end of his creation, and the object and end of the creation of this world which we inhabit. Without this revelation, man would be left in total darkness. No science, no learning, no sagacity, could explain when this world is to terminate, and what is to be the result of all things. In the Bible we have an epitome, or a general view of the history of mankind, of the world, and a distinct knowledge of the object and end of their creation. We know that Christianity shall spread in spite of all opposition, till it covers the globe,—till every spot in this world knows and acknowledges the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. We know that the Jews shall submit themselves to be disciples of that Jesus whom their ancestors crucified as an impostor, and that they will be greatly blessed. We know, that for a thousand years there will be peace and happiness, and true religion; and that Christ will then be truly said to reign in the earth. We know that after this

there will be a falling off from true religion,—that wars, and rumors of wars will take place, and then, after an unmentioned period, when men are busy buying and selling, marrying and giving in marriage, the history of all sublunary things will be wound up; the heavens and the earth will flee away from the face of their Creator: Death shall cease; Time shall have an end, and an eternity of happiness shall be given to true believers, while the misery of the Devil, his angels, and of the unrighteous, will be completed, and endure for ever.

At our next meeting, on Wednesday night, perceiving that they were not disposed to enter into subjects which might be esteemed by them dry and serious, I took the opportunity of giving them some information relative to the appearance of misery in the moral and physical world—the origin of evil,—and on the question of free-will and necessity. They, however, objected to every proposition, and entered into many extraneous arguments.

Having gone through as extensive a course of the external evidence as I imagined the temper and patience of my hearers would permit, it was my intention to enter on the internal evidence, which is by far the most useful part of the subject. I flattered myself that if I had failed to convince them by what I had already said, I had at least removed their prejudice so far as to obtain a tolerably patient hearing for a display of the fundamental principles of Christianity.

If I had succeeded in this, there was some reason to hope, that those truths, which taken separately, produce no effect, might, when combined, form a beautiful whole, worthy of their divine origin; and cause, if not an immediate conviction, at least such an impression as would induce them fully to study the subject. I repeatedly assured them that I would be ready to enter into an examination of any particular difficulty or objection which they might make.

On the following Sunday, I went to the house of S. at the usual hour. I waited a long time, but nobody came. I went the next Sunday, but, as before no one came. As they had all voluntarily absented themselves from coming, I did not think it was my duty to entreat them; and I contented myself in the failure of my attempt, by reflecting that I had done my duty and with resolution. The charge of non-conviction I would attribute neither to myself nor to the cause; but to their own ignorance, prejudice, and want

of patience. They can all testify that I was not backward, on any proper occasion, in laying the blame almost entirely on themselves. I was justified in using this tone; because, even allowing my small abilities to be less than they are, the strength of evidence which religion possesses, derivable from every source, is so great, that no deist can withstand it. He must do as my opponents did,—stay away, and throw the blame on others, rather than on themselves.

As S. and I met daily on duty after this for more than five months, we had frequent, and almost daily conversations on the subject of religion. With the other gentleman, I never regularly resumed the subject, and I may dismiss them with an account of the effects which were produced on their minds.

M. too often made a jest of all that was said, but once he observed, “that after all these disputations and jestings, they might all find it necessary in their old age to apply to the serious study of the Scriptures, to prepare them for dying.” I hope that, by the mercy of God, he may do so in time. He shortly after left the island for England. He always said that he believed in the Scriptures, but his assent proceeded more from habit and education, than from that internal conviction which produces a life and conversation inculcated by the Gospel. M., another gentleman, so far from being better, is become worse; and very lately, he assured me that he was a much better Christian before he knew me than since. He said that our frequent discussions had led him to think often on the subject, and the result was, that his unbelief, which was before doubtful, is now certain and confirmed. Let it not be imagined that this gentleman studied the Scriptures, either before or since he knew me. His ignorance of them, and all subjects connected with them, is striking and obvious to every one. If his eye ever glances over these pages, I wish him to remember that he has been soberly warned of his danger; that his bitterness of expression against every one who professes the Christian name, and his evident delight at any errors they may commit, and his ready belief of any false accusation which is brought against them, will be injurious only to himself, and forms a striking contrast to the incredulity he has so obstinately manifested against the evidence of Christianity and the candid conduct of Christians towards him. I pray that God may in his mercy remove his ignorance and blindness, and enlighten his understanding to see the truth

and the necessity of that Gospel which he now rejects, and make him as eminent an example of faith and piety, as he is now distinguished for his bitterness of hatred and incredulity.

It deserves to be remarked, that though I had many books on the evidence of Christianity, not one of them expressed the least wish to read them, and from this we may judge of their candour, and of their eagerness to acquire that knowledge of which they were ignorant. To this remark S. formed the only exception. He had the curiosity to read the *Religio Medici* of Sir Thomas Brown. He read with me the whole of the Epistles, and a part of Milner's Church History. This gentleman possessed a character distinguished for simplicity and sincerity; but it was united with a powerful and ill-regulated imagination. Warm and sincere in all his impressions, he expressed himself with a corresponding degree of animation; but as these impressions were produced by the impulse of the moment, they were quickly effaced and soon forgotten. Of him, however, I have the greatest hope. He confessed that the subject of religion made a strong impression on him, and was constantly recurring to his mind; that our discussions had shewn it to him in a very different point of view from that in which he had formerly contemplated it, and proved that the subject was worthy of deep study and investigation, and he often expressed his determination to prosecute his inquiries. He confessed also that the French writers Rousseau and Voltaire, the latter of whom was, as it were, the god of his idolatry, no longer gave him the pleasure they once did and he sold the writings of these authors. The conversations I had with him were long and numerous, and I trust they will not be effaced from his mind; and though I was greatly disappointed one day, shortly before his departure, to find him arguing against the sacrifices, as a cruel and tyrannical thing, and affirmed that he saw no necessity for the sacrifice of our Saviour as an atonement for sin, yet I hope if he prosecutes, as he promised he would, the study of the Holy Scriptures, that the Holy Spirit will enlighten his heart, and enable him to perceive the beauty, excellency, and greatness of that sacrifice, and of all the truths and consequences dependant upon or following from this corner-stone of Christianity.

Previously to narrating the remaining conversations with Lord Byron, it would be proper to notice those which I had

with S., because they were more numerous and more interesting. There was hardly a topic or principle of Christianity which was not touched upon and discussed. Many objections, sometimes original, sometimes commonplace, often sophistical and absurd, were stated and attempted to be confuted. For the gratification of the reader's curiosity, I shall enumerate some of the topics which constituted the subject of our conversations. The Deity of Christ—the personality of the Holy Spirit—the characters of the Jewish writers, the Apostles, and Prophets—the nature of prophetic language—the incredulity of the Roman and Greek classical writers—the destroying of the writings of the Ancients by the Monks, and the probability of some of their works containing a refutation of Christianity—why our Saviour did not appear with superhuman splendour and power, and strike down his enemies or force conviction on all—why Christianity has made so slow a progress—why the heathen are still destitute of it—why the conduct of Christians is so inconsistent with their principles—why there are so many divisions, sects, and parties—the different forms of external discipline—the fury of controversies—the persecutions by those who have secular power of their Christian brethren of a different denomination—the pride and corruption of the Church of England—the corruption of the Church of Scotland, and all the dissenting Churches.

I now proceed directly to the task which I have undertaken, and as it is necessary that the objects I have in view be distinctly understood, it will be expedient to mention them again, though I should expose myself to the charge of repetition. This will be attended with advantage to the reader, who can judge, at every step, whether I am keeping on the proper ground, whether each part of the argument is satisfactory and conclusive, or the reverse. I shall forbear to allude to any objections, because the most natural order is first to survey the whole of the evidence, as it exists itself, and then the force of the objections will be better understood, and more easily answered or admitted.

I shall comprehend them in the following propositions, which I consider and establish one after another, without, however, referring to them, or repeating them; the summing up of the proof with the general conclusion to be drawn from it will succeed, and then the consideration of the most weighty, plausible, and forcible objections.

1st. The evidence that the books comprehended in the

Old and New Testament were written at the time, and by the authors to whom they are ascribed, is complete, full, and satisfactory.

2nd. That they have been handed down to us in a state of perfect integrity.

3d. That they contain internal evidence that they were written by inspiration of God—and that every thing that is contained in them is true.

4th. That beside the mass of human testimony, of the highest character, which establishes the foregoing facts, in as satisfactory a manner as any fact in past time can be attested—that the following facts or propositions demonstrate in a manner beyond that which human testimony can do, that they came from God.

1st. They contain revelations which could never have been invented by mankind, and these revelations are suited to the character of God, the nature and situation of man, and the state of the world.

2nd. That the numerous prophecies of future events, with the fulfilment of them in different ages and nations, is susceptible of proof,—that by the wisdom of God they were predicted; consequently they are divine, for the experience of every age has proved that the power of prophecy is beyond the capacity of man.

3rd. That as God is truth, and the sign that they came from God thus appearing in those who wrote these books,—it follows that the writers could not lie, and were preserved from all error.

4th. That there are many other proofs, which in addition to the foregoing, add to the evidence of the Scriptures, and among others the dignity, majesty, and divinity of the matter and style, which has never been equalled by any, of all the most distinguished authors of every nation.

5th. That besides the above foregoing positive evidence to prove the propositions, there is evidence that it is impossible from mere human reason to have composed the Scriptures.

6th. That all objections made against them, to whatever point they may be directed, arise from ignorance, and their fallacy is demonstrable.

The external evidence is in itself satisfactory, as well as interesting and useful; yet, as it is exclusive in its nature, and has been treated of by many authors, and as it is, in my opinion neither so interesting nor useful as the internal evidence, while the latter carries a weight of proof with it

which the other does not possess. I shall run over the display of the former with as much brevity as possible, in order that I may enlarge more upon the latter*.

During the time that these discussions were going forward, Lord Byron resided at his countryhouse in the village of Metaxata, about four miles and a half from the town. Several of the gentlemen who were engaged in them, were in the habit of visiting him, and the conversation often turned on the attempt which they said I was making to convert them to a pious and religious life. The conversations were always repeated to me. H., an officer, was in the frequent practice of visiting his lordship, dining often and riding out with him. He asked me why I did not come, for his lordship would be very glad to see me at Metaxata; this he said several times; at length he told me that Lord Byron had requested him to say so expressly.

Various causes prevented me from visiting his lordship. I was much engaged at this time in public duties, from the approach of the sickly season, and the indisposition of the other medical gentleman: besides this, I wished not to appear forward in visiting Lord Byron, as I knew that my motives would be misrepresented, and I was not previously assured that his lordship wished me to come. I thought also that if he were in earnest to hear religion explained, he must have been aware that the least hint from him would induce me willingly to comply with his desire. I was besides deterred a little by the consciousness that there was often a secret, ambitious desire of making such a convert, and though I immediately repressed such vain desires, yet I knew that others would readily enough impute to me these motives: thus I had convinced myself that it was more proper not to go near him, but to be ready, should he at any time invite me. With this view I was diligently employed in preparing myself for these possible interviews, and, like many others, who are equally wise on such occasions, was studying and refreshing my memory on points which had very little relation to the subject, and which were not in the least interesting to Lord Byron.

At last I met Count G. in the street of Argostoli, and he told me that Lord Byron had resolved to depart to continental Greece in about ten days. I therefore determined to visit him, both from a sense of respect due to him, and to

* See Appendix.

gratify my own curiosity in hearing and seeing a man so distinguished. I rode out to Metaxata, and fortunately found him at home. He received me very politely, and offered me refreshments, which I declined: he then said, "We must have dinner very soon." I expressed my hope that if he had any engagement he would tell me, and not from mere politeness allow me to interrupt him; he said that he really had none, and was glad to see me, and have an opportunity of conversing with me.

I told him I would have done myself the honour of visiting him before, but I was afraid of intruding; I had, however, been preparing myself to be ready to meet him, and probably had wasted my time on subjects which he might deem of little importance. He asked me what they were, and on being informed, he smiled, and said, "These certainly are things which I do not trouble myself with at present. I chiefly would desire to hear the motives and the reasons which influenced you to a profession of Christianity, and which convinced you, as a man of sense and reflection, of the truth of that religion." He asked me what progress I had made in converting B. and C., naming them.

I gave him a faithful and particular account, describing the effects on each, according to their character;—I said, "The misfortune is, these young men are all in health and strength; the world affords them pleasures and delights, which fully occupy their time and care; and at present they esteem it to be both very ungentle and very unphilosophical, to be strict either in studying religion, or in practising the duties which it inculcates: while their inclinations and prejudices are such," I added, "it is impossible to expect from them a patient hearing, far less a serious examination of the evidence which I lay before them; for, while I bring forward what I think may be useful, they are lying in wait for critical objections, and often turn everything into ridicule; then again discussions arise which terminate as distantly as possibly from the point at which we set out."

I confessed that my hopes were not strong, yet I would go on as long as they wished to meet me, merely with the view of convincing them occasionally of their ignorance, and of the impossibility of their reasoning justly on a subject of which they knew so little: it might hereafter be productive of benefit to them. If men are once brought, by whatever external cause, to consider the necessity of the question, whether Christianity is, or is not true, they will bestow on it

much attention and study: if they do so, the inevitable result will be a conviction of its truth.

Lord B. said that he had met with many who had talked in this way. Some of them were clergymen, who used such arguments with the same indifference with which they often read their prayers, and apparently because it was a part of the duty for which they were paid. He knew one gentleman, a laymen, who endeavoured to convert him. He mentioned his name, which I forget; but his arguments, he said, did not make much impression upon him, he did not know why.

I remarked that the clearest arguments would be of no avail if they were addressed to an inattentive or prejudiced hearer. "If your lordship," I added, "uses that reason, which God has given you, in investigating the evidence of the Christian religion, you cannot fail to be convinced. If you reject it without examination, then that same reason must compel you to admit, that you reject it without knowing its principles, and are influenced not by sound reasonings, but by prejudices resulting from the company you have kept, and from the natural reluctance which every one feels to admit a doctrine so humiliating to the pride of man. If it be alleged that men of great abilities have rejected Christianity, we say that men with equal abilities have adopted it; and these knew more of the subject than those who rejected it: if a man of talent adopts a system of infidelity, because others have done so, he cannot say that he has acted a rational part, unless he can prove, what he would find it difficult to do, that those men of high talents who received Christianity were delirious on this point!"

"I have no wish," said Lord Byron, "to reject it without investigation; on the contrary, I am very desirous of believing, for I have no happiness in my present unsettled notions on religion."

"If that be the case," I replied, "then you have no time to lose. It is your positive duty, as well as your highest interest, to begin immediately, and if you do so with a proper spirit, and persevere a sufficient time, you will arrive at a firm conviction of its truth. You must pray humbly to God to grant you, by his Holy Spirit, a sense of your own iniquity, and a proper view of the necessity of a Saviour; and when you have seen this, propriety and harmony of the doctrines of the Gospel will unfold themselves before you."

"But I do not see," he said, "very much the need of a

Saviour, nor the utility of prayer. Prayer does not consist in the act of kneeling, nor in repeating certain words in a solemn manner. Devotion is the affection of the heart, and this I feel; for when I view the wonders of creation, I bow to the Majesty of Heaven; and when I feel the enjoyments of life, health, and happiness, I feel grateful to God for having bestowed these upon me."

"All this is well," I said, "so far as it goes, but, to be a Christian, you must go farther. Such feelings of devotion as these, I believe, every one experiences, even the most wicked, for they are forced upon him by the wonders of the Creator, and by the nature of his own constitution. If Christianity did not exist, such feelings might be excited; but as Christianity is revealed to man, and is the only means, hitherto known, by which a sinner can be reconciled to a holy God, and made fit for everlasting happiness, it imperiously demands the attention of every one: for, if true, it follows inevitably, that transitory moments of devotion and gratitude will not be considered as sufficient for qualifying a man for heaven, if he reject that Saviour, the Son of God, who came to die in his stead, that his sins might be forgiven, and that, by believing in him, his heart and affections might be changed, and his conduct and conversation altered. I would entreat your lordship to read your Bible most attentively, with humble prayer, that light may be given you to understand it; for, great as your talents are, without the teaching of the holy Spirit, the whole book will be to you sealed, or at most an entertaining history, or a curious fable."

"I read more of the Bible than you are aware," said Lord B.; "I have a Bible which my sister gave me, who is an excellent woman, and I read it very often." He went into his bed-room on saying this, and brought out a pocket Bible, finely bound, and shewed it to me.

I said, "You cannot do better than read this; but if you have read it so much, it is singular that you have not arrived at the understanding of it. I shall shew you," I added, "from the Bible itself, the authority which there is for a change of heart, before a person can be a true Christian, or comprehend in a proper manner, the truths contained in this wonderful book." I then turned over the Bible to look for the third chapter of John, but as the chapters were arranged in a different manner from that to which I had been accustomed, and with different titles, I leisurely observed them; in the meantime Lord B. was waiting to be shewn

the passage referred to; and as I looked, I happened to say "I cannot find the place so readily in this Bible as in the common Bible."

"Give it to me," said Lord B., "I will soon find it." Of course from a feeling of politeness I gave it to him, and told him that I wanted the third of John. I was already near the place, and should have soon found it, but when his lordship wished for the Bible, I could not withhold it. I mention this circumstance particularly, because something was founded on it, to which allusion will hereafter be made. Lord B. found the passage, and we read the solemn declaration, "That unless a man is converted, he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven."

I then said, "If your lordship will give me the Bible I will shew you the authority for the other point, indicating the necessity of prayer with a humble heart to enable any one to comprehend the truths of the Gospel." I then read to him part of the first chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, and part of the second, in which it is expressly declared that the cross of Christ is to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness. "God has confounded the wisdom of the wise, by means of the things which are low and foolish; no human wisdom can spiritually discern the truths of the Gospel; man must lay aside his own pride and wisdom, and submit to be taught by the Spirit of God. We can know nothing of God, nor his ways, except as he teaches us; we must not come forward with our own notions, to sit in judgment on what he reveals; and if he has revealed to us any part of his will, he demands from us that to which he is entitled; the submission which a child should pay to the instructions of a parent, and those who do not this, will never understand his will; while on the contrary, whoever does it, and prays for strength to God, will, for the same reason, be taught it. With respect to the other point—Since we are born; from the fall of our first parents, with affections and inclinations contrary to the will of God, and grow up in indulging those to a greater or less extent in defiance of his precepts, threats, and warnings, it follows that a change of heart and affections is equally necessary, before we can be disposed to obey the will of God, or take the smallest pleasure in doing it. Hence every one, whatever be his rank, must undergo this change, which is a thing as certain as any fact within the circle of human knowledge, supported by authority and reason; however

much it has been ridiculed by many, in consequence of the epithets which have been applied to this change, namely, new birth, regeneration, conversion, and new light."

"Of the wickedness and depravity of human nature, I have no doubt," said Lord B. ; "I have seen too much of it in all classes of society ; and under the mask of politeness and patriotism I have found so much vileness and villany, that no one, except those who have witnessed it, can have any conception of ; but these doctrines, which you mention, lead us back into all the difficulties of original sin, and to the stories in the Old Testament, which many who call themselves Christians reject. Bishop Watson, if I mistake not, rejected, or did not value the Bible ; the Waldenses according to Gibbon, rejected it as being a mere history of the Jews, and you will acknowledge that these were good Christians ; and the history of the creation and the fall is, by many doctors of the Church, believed to be a mythos, or at least an allegory. Nay, your favourite author, Scott, does not venture to say that it was the devil who spoke to Eve by means of the serpent."

I replied, "that I was sorry to say that much of what he had advanced was true. Whether or not Dr. Watson undervalued the Bible, I did not know ; if he did, it was evident that he was not a real Christian, for the Old and New Testament must stand or fall together. I knew also that many of the German divines, some of them professors of divinity in the colleges, had professed their belief, that the history of these things was a fable or an allegory ; but," I said, "this proves nothing, for we well know, that many of these men are Socinians, or deists in disguise, and the truth or falsehood of the thing cannot be decided on their authority. If your lordship had ever seen Dr. Moses Stuart's work, the Professor of Theology in Andover Seminary, in America, on the Socinian controversy, which is at present under discussion in America, you would see some specimens of German divinity which would astonish you, and show you in what light you are to receive the authority of the German divines ! I do not remember distinctly what Gibbon says of the Waldenses, as it is some time since I looked at him ; but if he says that they disbelieved the Scriptures, he must found his statement on the authority of the Roman Catholics against them ; for the calumnies against this poor oppressed people were so many and great, that St. Bernard, who appears to have been a pious man,

was led sincerely to believe them a set of heretics, and to wish for their conversion and suppression; though we know now from the most unexceptionable documents, that these poor people maintained the doctrines of Christianity in all their soundness and simplicity. With respect to Mr. Scott, your lordship must have cursorily observed what he says; for he has no doubt on the subject, and states, that the whole scope of Scripture, as well as particular passages, point out that it was the Devil; and you must have been misled by some faint recollection of his refuting Dr. Adam Clark, who entertains the idea that the serpent was formerly a very beautiful ape; an idea so fantastic that it affords ground for ridicule and unbelief to those who cannot separate the errors of professing Christians from the clearness and truth of the Christian revelation."

Lord B. arose from the sofa, and went to a side-table to look at Gibbon, and we spent some time in talking about this insidious enemy of Christianity. The statement was found as his lordship had affirmed, but I pointed out that his authority was that of the church of Rome, the persecuting enemy of these poor Christians, and I said that Jones in his history had so completely settled the claim of these poor people to be considered as the true church of Christ, and the forerunners of the reformation, that Christians of all denominations agreed on the subject. In speaking of Gibbon, I admitted his claim as an eminent historian and fine writer, but I pointed out his gross want of candour and fairness in matters relating to Christianity; I expressed wonder that any one should quote his authority on the subject, when he is known to be a cowardly and underhand enemy, injuring it, as far as he can, by hints and insinuations, and often by perversions and misrepresentations.

Lord B. said he was not aware that he had mistated or misrepresented anything intentionally. I replied that it had been found to be the case by Mr. Milner, and Mr. Davis, the latter of whom has pointed out and numbered his errors and misrepresentations; and though Gibbon referred to one or two errors which Davis had committed, and which he in a second edition acknowledged and corrected, yet he passes by the whole of the others which still stand unanswered. "Look," I said, "also at the insinuating and plausible way in which he begins his history of the church, apparently in a very humble and decent manner, but he soon shews the cloven foot; for he states positively that Moses did not

relieve the Jews, nor did the Jews believe in the immortality of the soul; and then he quotes Warburton, whose ingenious but fanciful work cannot but be condemned by every Christian."

Lord B. asked me whether I had read Warburton's theory. I said I had seen the work repeatedly at a time when I had no interest in these subjects, and now, when I wish to see it, I cannot get access to it. "I have read it," said Lord B., "or rather I have glanced over it. It appears a learned and ingenious work, and I know there are many people who think very highly of his theory." I replied that I had seen an abstract of his theory repeatedly stated, and could judge that it was easily refuted; "and indeed," I added, "when I go home I will put down some passages in the *Pentateuch* itself, which, had Warburton looked at, he would not have adopted so fanciful a theory."

Lord B. said, "I should like to see them.—"Do you think," he asked, "that the Devil really appeared before God, as is mentioned in the book of Job, or is this only an allegorical or poetical mode of speaking?" "I believe it in its strict and literal meaning." "What are your reasons for doing so?" inquired Lord B. "First," I replied, "from the authority of our Saviour, who received this among the Jewish Scriptures, as he never blamed the Jews for having entertained a wrong notion of those books which they received as inspired; but, on the contrary, established them all, as then and now received, to be the oracles of God, as is evident from the many passages in which he refers to the Scriptures with the phrase, 'it is written;' and where he expressly directs them to search the Scriptures, for they testify of him. In the second place, Ezekiel mentions Job as a real personage, as does also the Apostle James. In the third place, Satan is, in one sense, as much a servant of God as the holy angels are, as he can only do what is permitted, and the Almighty could crush him to nothing with a word as easily as he called the world into existence."

"If it be received in a literal sense," said Lord B., "it gives one a much higher idea of the majesty, power, and wisdom of God to believe that the Devils themselves are at his nod, and are subject to his control with as much ease as the elements of nature follow the respective laws which his will has assigned them."

He seemed pleased with the idea, and as it appeared to me that he must have had some erroneous opinion, similar

to some of the Manicheans, with respect to the power of God over Satan, or the evil principle, I left him a few moments to his reflections, and when he turned towards me, I made a remark in reference to the idea, which I supposed rested upon his mind. "Although Christianity exhibits two principles at work, one evil, and the other good, in the moral government of the universe and the natural world, yet these are very different from the two principles of the Manicheans. In the latter system it would appear as if the good principle had a great deal of difficulty in overcoming the evil principle. In the former there are no such ideas conveyed. For the evil principle is represented as much subject to the omnipotence of God, as it was before it became evil, and its existence and operations are permitted by divine wisdom, only to such an extent, and for such a time, as suits the purposes which the Almighty ruler has in view, and to this end the evil spirit with all his legions of attendant evil angels are as much subservient, and as easily rendered subservient, as the sand which is blown by the wind. I am not ignorant of the absurd opinions which many divines and scholars have given respecting every thing that concerns Job, and the nature and character of the book which records his history: but an accurate and sober examination will shew, that these opinions are all fanciful and founded upon conjecture and hypothesis, a mode of argument which may be occasionally pleasing when used in illustrating a profane author, but intolerable in alluding to one of those books included in the sacred Scripture. It is either an inspired work, or it is not,—if it is not, it should be excluded from the Scripture, and a little more sober reflection should be shewn in treating of it, by those who call themselves Christians. When examined with attention, it proves, and that in the most beautiful manner, the strictly evangelical views which the patriarchs had of some of the most important doctrines,—indeed of all the essential doctrines of real religion, and that, too, before the promulgation of the law from Mount Sinai. The omnipotence, purity, omnipresence, wisdom, and mercy of God,—the depravity of human nature, the existence of a divine Redeemer, the resurrection and the punishment of the wicked are clearly indicated; while the erroneous views of Job's friends with respect to the invariable retribution of wicked men even in this world, with Job's contrary opinion, the harshness of his friends, and his own impatience, occasional despair, and presumption,

though his principles are sound, and his heart upright, are painted with equal clearness." Lord Byron again expressed how much the belief of the real appearance of Satan to hear and obey the commands of God added to his views of the grandeur and majesty of the Creator.

Another idea which seemed to please him was that which was furnished to him by an answer I gave to a question which he put, respecting the formation of man after the image of God. "It is said in the Scriptures," said Lord B., "that man was formed after the image of God, and yet God is a Spirit of which no image or idea can be formed, except that it exists and has powers, and we are commanded not to make any image of God, nor represent him by anything of a material nature; how then is man made after his image?" I replied, "the image here mentioned refers to man as created intelligent, pure, and holy in his mind and affections after the image of that infinite knowledge, purity, and holiness, which is in the Godhead, which spirit or image was lost at the fall on the introduction of sin, and requires to be renewed by a power equal to its first creation, before it can be rendered fit for communion with God and for heaven."

He seemed satisfied with this answer, and reflected several moments on what had been said. After a short pause I proceeded. "There are many great difficulties which appear in the Scriptures to the minds of some, which are very easily answered either by a little examination and comparison of the sacred books, or on inquiring from the weakest Christian. And if Deists would only make the reasonable supposition that Christians have just as good powers of reasoning as they have, and would not believe anything without proof and evidence more readily than themselves, they would draw the useful conclusion, that many points which appear to them either absurd or impossible, are susceptible of the clearest explanation; which when given, excites the astonishment of the objector, and enables him to see the brightness of the light which pervades every truth in the Scriptures."

"This might do very well," said Lord Byron, "in a matter of abstract reasoning, but how will you account for that mass of superstition and hypocrisy which exists not only on the continent, but even to some extent in England, and which I verily believe is the cause of the infidelity of thousands. I have seen," he continued, "on the continent, both in France and Italy, such instances of hypocrisy and villany, and

everything that was detestable in those who were appointed to teach religion; and such ignorance and superstition among the lower classes, particularly among the women, that it is difficult for a man to give much attention to a subject which appears to be so uncertain and mysterious, and which produces such fruits among its followers."

"I hope your lordship," I said, "will always make a distinction between the use and abuse of a thing, nor charge the crimes and the vices of false Christians to the real Christian, since every candid man must admit that it is the want of belief and of the proper Christian principles and spirit which is the cause of such horrible evils."

"I always take care to do that," said Lord B.; "I know the Scriptures sufficiently well to acknowledge, that if the mild and benignant spirit of this religion were believed and acted on by all, there would be a wonderful change in this wicked world; and I have always made it a rule to respect every man who conscientiously believes the Scriptures, whatever external creed he may profess, and most cordially do I detest hypocrites of all sorts, especially hypocrites in religion. I have known in Italy some instances of superstition which were at once amusing and ridiculous. I have known a person engaged in sin, and when the vesper-bell has rung, stop and repeat the Ave Maria, and then proceed in the sin: absolution cured all. The sins of the head, or dissent from the Church, is heresy, and requires the severest punishment: the sins of the heart were easily forgiven, they thought, by a merciful God." He then mentioned some anecdotes illustrative of his statement.

I said, "that these facts only exhibited the extremely low state of religion in the Romish church, and at the very seat of this abominable hierarchy; and it was to be hoped that the efforts which were now making by the Bible and other Societies, would tend in time to remove that darkness and superstition, and enable every man to understand and value the sacred Scriptures. And it was the duty," I added, "of every one who witnessed such woful scenes of depravity and blindness, to lend his assistance to remedy the evil."

"The diffusion of knowledge," said Lord Byron, "has diminished, I am afraid, the number of believers in Christianity; for in the dark ages, when every body believed in witches and ghosts, which the diffusion of knowledge has sent to their cells, the belief of Christianity was more general than it is now, at least there were fewer infidels."

I replied, "that it was impossible to reason accurately on a subject of so extensive a nature by mere inferences, as so many causes were at work, and the effects so various and complicated. On the one hand we know that the heart might be sincere, and pure in faith before God, while the head abounded with a great many erroneous views, owing to the state of darkness and ignorance which prevailed in the middle ages; while, at this time, the head might have clearer views of scientific, nay of religious subjects, and the heart remain unconverted, neither loving nor believing in God, as revealed in the Scriptures. At the same time it is not incompatible,—in the present day especially,—to find clearness of head and purity of heart combined, though my observations lead me to think that this is not a general result, as the most sincere and humble Christians are found among the lower classes of society, whose knowledge in literature and science is of course nothing. Whether there were more Christians in the dark ages than now, I would not," I said, "take upon me positively to decide, but, judging from various circumstances, it appeared to me, that, granting the ostensible number of Deists to have been greatly increased, the number of real Christians in the present day surpassed those in the dark ages in a very great proportion. The real state of the case can only be known at the last day; but taking in view the vast variety of means constantly in action for the teaching and diffusion of Christianity, it was reasonable to suppose, that a very great proportion of those to whom it is addressed, especially in the middling and lower ranks of life, with which his lordship was least conversant, received it; and the number we know will increase for there are mighty engines at work, which, by the blessing of God, will beat down every obstacle, and renovate the face of the world. The progress of Christianity," I added, "is now so rapid, or at least of so sensible a nature, that it necessarily attracts the attention of all men, more or less; nor is it a matter of surprise that its enemies, from vanity and a desire to display their talents, should endeavour to check its progress by their writings. The young, the vain, and the ignorant, adopt and retail the paltry, and sophistical, and false reasonings of Deists, or Socinians, not so much from conviction as from a desire to shew that they are emancipated from the prejudices of the nursery; and there are many young men, who, in the delusion of youthful vanity, actually think that they are no common philosophers

if they adopt and repeat the objections of Hume and Voltaire."

"But since we have spoken of witches," said Lord Byron, "what think you of the witch of Endor? I have always thought this the finest and most finished witch-scene that ever was written or conceived, and you will be of my opinion, if you consider all the circumstances and the actors in the case, together with the gravity, simplicity, and dignity of the language. It beats all the ghost scenes I ever read. The finest conception on a similar subject is that of Goeth's Devil, Mephistopheles; and though of course you will give the priority to the former, as being inspired, yet the latter, if you know it, will appear to you—at least it does to me—one of the finest and most sublime specimens of human conception."

I smiled at the singular associations which brought such subjects together in Lord B.'s mind. I said I agreed with him as to the first, though I had not before considered it in a poetical point of view; but the grandeur of the circumstances readily struck me, when he pointed them out to me, but I was not able to judge of the latter, as it was some time since I had looked at Madame de Staël's work on Germany, where an abstract is given, and copious extracts are made from the work. "The authoress praises it in very high terms; but," I said, "whether owing to want of taste or something else, I had never met with any conception of angels, whether good or bad, or devils, or witches, which conveyed an idea sufficiently high of the goodness of one class, or of the wickedness of the other. Milton," I said, "appears to me completely to fail in his angels. His good angels are very good, but they are little insipid, and the bad angels excite more sympathy and less terror than perhaps he intended. The only fine conception of its kind is the *Diable boiteux*, at least it seems to me more original than any other sketch of a devil which I have seen."

"Do you very much admire Milton?" asked Lord B. "It would be heresy," I replied, "to say that I do not admire Milton, and in sober earnestness I admire his talents as a poet, but I have no pleasure in the greater part of his *Paradise Lost*. The weakness of fiction is strikingly manifest to him who knows the simple majesty of divine truth, and he who is much impressed with the latter can have no enjoyment in seeing it rendered subservient to fiction." "I do not so greatly admire Milton myself," said Lord B.; "nor do I admire Cowper, whom so many people praise."

"Cowper happens to be my favourite among the poets," I said, "and he is so with a large class of people, and will continue to be so, in proportion as real Christianity spreads, for he has more of moral and divine truth in his poems than any other poet of his rank and poetical abilities. My habits and studies do not lead me to read much poetry, and I am probably a very incompetent judge; but, like many others, I have read Cowper twice or thrice, and may read him oftener, but though I have more than once resolved to read Milton, I have never fairly read him twice, but tired after reading different passages."

"Do you admire Shakspeare?" enquired Lord B. "By no means to that extent which is generally done." "Neither do I," said his lordship. "I lately met with an invective in the *Eclectic Review* against our poets in general, and in particular against Shakspeare, in which the critic, with that sternness and intrepidity of mind which brings to remembrance the magnanimity of the Puritans, accuses all the poets of having done little good in their generation to the cause of virtue and religion; that their writings leave us nothing to admire, except the mere eloquence and force of poetry, as their sentiments are often vicious, licentious and immoral; and with regard to Shakspeare the admiration of the English for him, whether real or affected, approached to idolatry."

"I was pleased," I added, "at the earnest and manly tone of the Reviewers, so different from the insipidity and commonplace style of many of that fraternity in modern times, although the passage was extracted in another Review as a proof of modern fanaticism."

"Pope," said Lord B., "is undoubtedly one of the greatest of the English poets, and his merits are little understood by many. I replied that he was certainly one of the best versifiers in the language, but he was not a particular favourite of mine from his vanity, and from the attacks which he had made on many of his friends: neither had he clear views of religion."

"But," said Lord Byron, "if you read Spence's *Anecdotes*, you will find Pope's character placed in a clearer and more correct point of view than is often done, and that as a friend, as a son, and as a member of society, his conduct was not only unimpeachable, but in the highest degree praise-worthy." I said that I had seen something from Spence's work in the *Edinburgh Review*. "Have you,"

asked Lord B., "seen any of the Reviews lately?" I answered, I had seen the Edinburgh, in which there is a review of your lordship's Tragedies. "Ah that is a subject in which I have failed; I shall write no more tragedies I think," said Lord B. "Have you," I asked, "seen the review?" He said he had. "There are some allusions," I said, "to your lordship in another of the London Reviews—I think in the Literary Gazette—in which they express surprise at your inconsistency, when you say in your *Don Juan*, that, after Walter Scott, Jeffrey is the man with whom you would find most pleasure in drinking a bottle of Port."

"They are wrong, nor am I inconsistent," said Lord B. "For though Jeffrey made a great mistake in the commencement, he was sufficiently chastised for it, and from the time he was sensible of his fault, he has been uniform in a more fair and honourable mode of criticism than some who profess to be more decidedly my admirers. In fact, he has done as much as could be expected from one who was once my open enemy, and enmities you know should not be everlasting."

I said, "Certainly, Jeffrey appears to censure your lordship with regret, and he does it in the prettiest, gentlest terms possible, mixing expressions of high admiration for your abilities, with his hopes that you will leave such subjects as *Cain*, and employ your talents on those which will be honourable to yourself and useful to others."

"But," said Lord B., "they have all mistaken my object in writing *Cain*. Have I not a right to draw the characters with as much fidelity, and truth, and consistency, as history, or tradition fixes on them? Now it is absurd to expect from *Cain*, sentiments of piety and submission, when he was a murderer of his brother, and a rebel against his Creator."

"That is true," I replied, "but they blame you, not for putting such sentiments into the mouth of *Cain*, but for not putting such sentiments into those of *Abel* and *Adam* as, would have counterbalanced the effect of what *Cain* said. And they moreover urge, that the sentiments of *Cain* are carried too far, even to the height of blasphemy, and the effect of this is pernicious on many minds; especially when no counterbalancing effect is produced from the sentiments of the other characters: and, that being the case, it is naturally inferred, that many of the sentiments belong not so much to *Cain*, as to your lordship, and you have expressed them with all that force, vivacity, and energy, as coming from the heart. The subject was unhappy, but though,

from what I know, I believe it would be impossible to expect from you as much strength and force in your expressions of piety, as in those of doubt, and incredulity, and daring murmuring, yet it was a subject that required to be considered; whether such a work was calculated to be useful to yourself or others; and there is no doubt it has been the reverse, and will continue to be so. We know already that it has been productive of mischief."

"To myself it has," said Lord B., for it has raised such an outcry against me from the bigots in every quarter, both in the church and out of the church, and they have stamped me an infidel without mercy, and without ceremony; but I do not know that it has been, or ever can be, injurious to others."

"I can mention one instance, at least, of its mischievous effect which was told me a few days ago, by Colonel D.:" "What is it?" inquired he. "Colonel D.," I replied, "read in one of the papers, of a man in distressed circumstances, who one evening brought Cain in his hand to a friend, and read some passages of it to him, in which doubts of immortality, and of justice on earth, are expressed,—and desired his attention to what you said. Next morning he shot himself." Lord B. looked serious. "I do not quote this," I said, "as a justification of the man, who may have been driven to insanity before, and who might, in such a state, pervert the writings of the best intentioned authors; but surely everything of a dubious or equivocal nature should be avoided by every honest man, to prevent even the shadow of reason or occasion for the commission of evil."

"In what work," asked Lord B., "did this fact appear?" "It was in the newspaper: whether true or false, I cannot say." "I am very sorry for it," he replied, "whether it be true or false. Had I known that such an event was likely to happen, I should never have written the book. I would like to see the thing, and I shall ask D. about it."

I said, if he would permit me, I would take an opportunity of asking Colonel D. in what paper it was, and then tell his lordship, lest Colonel D. should imagine that I had used his authority unreasonably.

"I certainly," said he, "never anticipated that the work would have been productive of evil; and in drawing the character of Cain, I prosecuted the conception of it, which the Scriptures enable us to form of him, a daring unbeliever, and blasphemer, and a vile murderer; nor can I conceive

why people will always mix up my own character and opinions with those of the imaginary beings which, as a poet, I have the right and liberty to draw."

"They certainly do not spare your lordship in that respect; and in *Childe Harold*, *Lara*, the *Giaour*, and *Don Juan*, they are too much disposed to think that you paint in many instances yourself, and that these characters are only the vehicles for the expression of your own sentiments and feelings."

"They do me great injustice," he replied, "and what was never before done to any poet." "But," I said, "although it may be carried too far, is there not, at least, some foundation for the charge? Virtue and piety are qualities of too insipid a nature to excite a vivid interest in the minds of too many readers; and in order to produce effect and impression, beings of high talents and evil dispositions may be drawn by the poet as well as figured by the painter; but, unless care is taken in drawing some good qualities, in which a noble and virtuous mind must feel delight, the inference will be against the poet, if he seems unable or unwilling to draw anything but that which is bad, however lofty the qualities and actions. *Don Juan*, as far as I have understood from the extracts in the reviews, has no counterbalancing effect, in bringing forward good and virtuous characters, nor by the punishment of the wicked; but the hero goes on, prosperous and uncontrolled, from one vice to another, unveiling and mocking at the crimes and vices of mankind."

"Even in this work," said Lord B., "I have been equally misunderstood. I take a vicious and unprincipled character, and lead him through those ranks of society, whose high external accomplishments cover and cloke internal and secret vices, and I paint the natural effects of such characters; and certainly they are not so highly coloured as we find them in real life."

"This may be true; but the question is, what are your motives and object for painting nothing but scenes of vice and folly?" "To remove the cloke, which the manners and maxims of society," said his lordship, "throw over their secret sins, and shew them to the world as they really are. You have not," added he, "been so much in high and noble life as I have been; but if you had fully entered into it, and seen what was going on, you would have felt convinced that it was time to unmask the specious hypocrisy, and shew it in its native colours."

"My situation," I replied, "did not naturally lead me into society, yet, I believe, before the publication of your book, that the world, especially the lower and middling classes of society, never entertained the opinion, that the highest classes exhibited models of piety and virtue; nay, from circumstances, we are naturally disposed to believe them worse than they really are."

"It is impossible you can believe the higher classes of society worse than they are in England, France, and Italy, for no language can sufficiently paint them." "But still, my lord, granting this, how is your book calculated to improve them, and by what right, and under what title, do you come forward in this undertaking?" "By the right," he replied, "which every one has who abhors vice united with hypocrisy." "Then," I added, "he that teaches others, should be pure himself; and as your lordship belongs to that class, you cannot complain, if they examine your own conduct to see if your lordship has a right to become a reformer. From what I have seen of Don Juan, I cannot perceive that morality is much inculcated in it, or that vice, united with hypocrisy, is held up to abhorrence. On the contrary, it is a pure, unvarnished display of vice, and in language by no means calculated to render the Don odious, or the subject odious, to any mind unfortified by sound principles."

"It is the plan," said his lordship, "to lead him through various ranks of society, and shew that wherever you go vice is to be found." "This is a fact already known," I replied; "and it has also been known by experience, that no satire, however witty, poignant, or just, ever did any good, or converted, as far I have heard, one man from vice to virtue. Neither Horace, nor Juvenal, nor Persius, could stop the torrent of vice, and folly, and crime which inundated Rome, and which finally overthrew it, notwithstanding all the declamations of these satirists. Nor have I heard that Donne's or Pope's satires ever effected any good. Your language is not so gross as that of Juvenal or Persius, yet this is owing to the manners of the times; and while your satire is useless, it will call down on your head the exclamations, both of the virtuous and the vicious; of the former, because they do not perceive in you the proper qualifications of a reformer of morals, nor believe that you have adopted the means calculated to promote such an object, but rather the reverse; while the latter will naturally hate him who

unmasks those vices—more particularly if he be stained with any himself.”

“But it is strange,” he answered, “that I should be attacked on all sides, not only from magazines, and reviews, but also from the pulpit. They preach against me as an advocate of infidelity and immorality, and I have missed my mark sadly in having succeeded in pleasing nobody. That those whose vices I depicted and unmasked should cry out, is natural, but that the friends of religion should do so is surprising ; for you know,” said he, smiling, “that I am assisting you in my own way as a poet, by endeavouring to convince people of their depravity ; for it is a doctrine of yours, is it not ? that the human heart is corrupted, and therefore, if I shew that it is so in those ranks, which assume the external marks of politeness and benevolence,—having had the best opportunities, and better than most poets of observing it,—am I not doing an essential service to your cause, by first convincing them of their sins, and thus enable you to throw in your doctrine with more effect ?”

“This is a very ingenious turn which your lordship has given to the question, but it will not do. The heart of man is viler than you, with all your talents, can describe, and the vilest actions are often committed in secret by those who maintain a fine character externally. All this is true. But you have not conciliated these unhappy persons to yourself, nor to a new mode of life : you have not shewn them what to do. You may have shewn them what they are, but you have neither shewn them by precept, nor by example, the proper remedy. You are like a surgeon, if I may use a simile from my own profession, who with diabolical delight tears the old rags, ointments, and bandages, from the numerous wounds of his ulcerated patients, and, instead of giving fresh remedies, you expose them to the air, and disgust of every by-stander ; laughing, and smiling, and crying out, how filthy these fellows are.”

“But I shall not be so bad as that,” said Lord Byron. “You shall see what a winding up I will give to the story.” I replied, “I shall be glad to see any winding up, which can have the effect of remedying the pernicious consequences of the first part of the work. But the best way,” I added, “of remedying this is, for your lordship to study Christianity, now that you have time, and the matter is pressed upon you, and then you will know and feel what is right ; and when you have exhibited proofs of your conver-

sion, your attempts at reformation will be better received and more successful."

"But what would you have me to do?" asked his lordship. "I do not reject the doctrines of Christianity; I want only sufficient proofs of it to take up the profession in earnest; and I do not believe myself to be so bad a Christian as many of those who preach against me with the greatest fury, many of whom I have never seen nor injured. They furnish the suspicion of being latent hypocrites themselves, else why not use gentler and more Christian means?"

"I do not commend their conduct. It is wrong and imprudent to preach against individuals, either by name or character, and it is inconsistent with the dignity of a minister of the Gospel. It is beside calculated to exasperate the offender, rather than to effect a reformation. But," I continued, "you must excuse these zealous preachers, for their very imprudence proceeds from the high idea they have formed of your talents, and that whatever you do or say is of infinite importance to the church. They think your writings promote infidelity and immorality; and corrupt the youth who are disposed to admire your genius, and bow to your authority, and they act as if the church was in danger. I am not of that opinion, though it is desirable for your own sake, and that of all those whose conduct and principles you may influence, that you should become a Christian. I am not in the least afraid of Christianity, though your talents were much higher than they are; though you were openly to fight against it, your exertions would produce a very limited effect. They would not stagger the faith of the weakest Christian who truly believed, as he could trace everything you said to a complete ignorance of the true nature of Christianity; and as to the vicious, they have found occasions to be so before your lordship was born, and will do so when you are dead and forgotten; and what you could do, would only be to furnish the authority, and the occasion of excuse for some vices, to those who would find others, did you fail to supply them. Those divines that preach against you have fallen into the same error with many who write against poor Mr. Belsham, by conceding as much as possible to him, and by soothing and praising him as much as they can,—and more, perhaps, than they ought; differing in the manner in which they treat him, but agreeing in thinking him, like your lordship, a most formidable enemy to the church. Perhaps the best way would be to treat all such

with silence and prayer, as long as there are hopes of conversion ; and, when this is gone, with pity."

"But what excuse will you find for that preacher in London, about whom they have lately raised such infamous calumnies, and who has written against me in the Review with which he is connected, as well as preached against me? I do not believe," he said, there is the least foundation for the calumny ; but how delighted he would have been, had it been raised against me ! He would readily have believed it, and many others would have done so too, perhaps ; so that I shew a greater degree of Christian charity in believing him innocent, than he would have done towards me."

"We do not know the heart," I replied, "but we judge from conduct and conversation. The gentleman to whom you allude may consider it his duty to raise his voice against you as long as you continue in your present mode of writing and acting ; but change your conduct, and you will be received with joy and open arms by him, and also by thousands who have never seen your face."

"Of course a convert to any party is received with gratulation and joy, and, especially, a convert like myself, to whom circumstances have given a much greater degree of notoriety, as well by praise, as by censure, than I ever expected, or desired."

"Your lordship can remove the one, and increase the other, whenever you please. You have only to examine the causes which prevent you, and you will find that they are futile, and only tend to withhold you from the enjoyment of real happiness ; which, at present, it is impossible that you can find."

"What, then, you think me in a very bad way?" "I certainly think you are," I replied ; "and this I say, not on my own authority, but on that of the Scriptures. No Christian can say that he has been better than your lordship ; on the contrary, many will acknowledge their hearts to have been more sinful, and their lives as bad, though their rank and talents never placed them in so conspicuous a point of view. But while they thus acknowledge themselves to have been as bad, or worse than your lordship, they consider themselves entitled to say,—considering you simply as a fellow creature, possessed of an immortal soul, which will either be saved, or damned,—that your lordship must be converted, and must be reformed, before anything can be said of you, except that you are bad, and in a bad way."

"But," answered he, "I am now in a fairer way. I already believe in predestination, which I know you believe, and in the depravity of the human heart in general, and of my own in particular: thus you see there are two points in which we agree. I shall get at the others by-and-bye; but you cannot expect me to become a perfect Christian at once."

"There is a wide difference between us, and there are more points of variance than you have calculated," I said. "Predestination is of no importance in the present state of affairs, whether you believe it, or whether you do not. The other is important, and the first step, without which, the others would not be useful. But, if you really believe, and feel that you are weak, depraved, and helpless, then you will naturally inquire from whence help may be derived. The Scriptures say,—'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' If you really feel that you are lost, cannot save yourself, and need a Saviour, why not apply to Christ, and seek him as your Saviour?"

"This is going too fast," said Lord B. "There are many points and difficulties to clear up; when that is done, I will consider what you say." "What are your difficulties?" I asked. "If the subject is of importance, why not have them cleared and removed? You do not want time; you can reason, and reflect. The means of clearing up these difficulties are at hand. If it were a question of poetry, or of poetic literature, you would search and examine, and soon form your own judgment: on a point of far greater consequence, why do you linger and delay?"

"This is true," he said; "but here I am, the slave of circumstances, surrounded by things, and people which distract my attention, with nothing to lead me to the consideration of such subjects." "Your own judgment, and the consciousness of your own happiness, and that you are not fulfilling the ends of your creation, should lead you to the examination of the subject; and besides, there are no circumstances which bind you with such irresistible power, that you cannot easily surmount and conquer them. Religion must be sought after; your habits and studies must be subdued and laid aside in part, till you have obtained this, and then we may expect to see fruits worthy the high talents which God, whose revelation you neglect, has given you. I wish more earnestly than before, that your lordship would study the subject night and day, till you ascertain its truth, and your difficulties vanish. Every one would help you in

your research : small as my abilities and experience are,—they are at your service. And I give you my testimony in the most solemn manner, that if you allow any worldly circumstance to interfere with you, till you have succeeded in the search to which I encourage you, you will have deeply to repent of your neglect.”

“ Well, what would you have me to do ? How shall I set about it ? ” “ Begin,” I said, “ this very night to pray that God would pardon your sins, and grant you understanding to find out the truth, and continue praying on the one hand, and reading your Bible on the other, and do it with an earnest desire and an unbiassed mind, and the result will be what we so earnestly wish. I do not mean that you are to take the subject on trust ; examine it with the strictest scrutiny ; weigh every objection, and hear every answer, and give on each side the fairest play : if you do this with justice and candour, you must believe. Ignorance is the mother of infidelity. High as are your attainments, and contemptible as I am in those gifts in which you excel, yet I am ready to prove to you, that, on every subject connected with Christianity, you are very deficient ; and that your difficulties, doubts and contradictions proceed from a false, erroneous, and mistaken idea of the subject, which a little more knowledge would easily and infallibly remove.

“ Will your lordship bestow on these subjects and earnest and attentive consideration ? You will rejoice that you took my advice, when a deathbed arrives ; when the tumultuous pleasures of life, and the gay dreams of high ambition, and rank, and fame, pass away, and when the value of life will concentrate in one moment.”

“ I shall most certainly study the subject,” said his lordship seriously, “ with due attention.” “ And will you,” I added, “ keep in mind that I requested you not to be discouraged at first, even though your difficulties and doubts increase ? and if the light, force, and clearness of the Christian scheme do not at once appear to you, remember that it will, if you persevere ; and you must admit, that nothing can be gained, or understood, without time and labour. Keep your mind unbiassed, fairly weigh every argument, and continue constant in prayer to God, in whom, at least, you believe,—to give you that light which you at present want.”

“ But why are these difficulties so great ? ” asked Lord Byron. “ It is not necessary to mention more, when I find

sufficient already: there is, for instance, the doctrine of the Trinity, which is alone quite appalling."

"There is no more difficulty about this, than about any of the others; but there is an increase of difficulty, according to the ideas you have formed of it. Do you think, that the moment a man becomes a Christian, he loses his reason, or any of his other faculties? Look around, and you will find that he is the most cool and sober of all men, and is better qualified to weigh and scrutinize evidence, than those whose life is a scene of constant bustle and eagerness about the thousand trifles which engage their attention. If the doctrine of the Trinity is absurd, is it not likely that we could see its absurdity as soon as others? That it is above the power of reason to analyze the nature of the Trinity, we admit; and reason tells us that it must be so, till we can comprehend the nature of spiritual existence. Deists, however, endeavour to comprehend, or think it their duty to try to comprehend this mystery; and failing, reject it as absurd, and hence they ridicule faith—as if faith consisted in believing what was unreasonable. All those who are ignorant of real Christianity have these conceptions; and you, while you believe me reasonable on other points, think that I have laid aside my reason in this. You have wrong notions, not only of the nature, but of the object of our belief, which a little more knowledge would rectify. Now I say that what we believe respecting the Trinity is perfectly consistent with reason, and rests on the clearest evidence. We believe that God the Father sent his Son Jesus Christ to die for sinners, to make an atonement worthy of his justice, and prepare the way for their salvation; and that the Holy Spirit applies this sacrifice by exciting faith in those who embrace the way of salvation, and gradually sanctifies them, till they are fit for heaven. We believe that there is but one God, and that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, are but one God, the same in substance, power and glory. We believe this, because the same names, and attributes, and works, are ascribed to them indiscriminately, although in the scheme of redemption there appears a distinction between the offices which each performs. Now keep in mind, that God is a spirit, the *modus existendi* of which we are perfectly unacquainted with, and shew me where is the absurdity of there being a distinction of three in one essence, in the Godhead; the highest spiritual existence? When we say there are three persons in the Godhead, we are compelled to make

use of a name drawn from material objects, which name deceives Deists, who think themselves clear reasoners; yet they want candour to hear the statement we constantly give, —that in using the word Person, we do it from necessity, and mean not that there is as perfect a distinction between the persons of the Trinity, as between three material objects. To say that three material objects are one and the same, would be both a physical, and mathematical absurdity: because, however similar their bodies were in colour, weight, density, taste, &c., and in the particles of matter which composed them, yet they are essentially three distinct bodies, and must, from the very nature of things, be so. It is absurd in a Deist to say, that this must be the same with spiritual existences. The reasoning is not, nor can be applicable, till he explains what spiritual existence is: when he does, we shall then be able to estimate the weight of his reasonings. The highest reason can explain neither the *modus existendi* of spiritual essence, nor the *modus operandi*, disjoined from matter. Believing this to be the case, we rest satisfied with the fact, that there is a distinction in the unity of the Divine Being, so, however, as not to divide the essence; and this rests upon the evidence which supports the whole of the Scriptures. We see no absurdity in it, nor contradiction, nor anything that is revolting to reason. When we confine ourselves to the fact of the three in unity of essence, the source and fountain of spiritual existence, and that each acts a part in the redemption of man, the Father decreeing, the Son fulfilling, the Spirit sanctifying, we perceive a revelation suited to our wants, consoling, and satisfactory. More could not have been revealed of the nature of the Deity, nor of this three-fold distinction. What language could have been made use of to convey to man ideas of spiritual existence, when from his nature he cannot form a conception of mind, nor use one term relating to it which is not borrowed from matter? If a man pry impertinently beyond what is revealed, and by his own reason speculate about the Deity, and the distinct personalities, he must inevitably err. Not a step he takes, not an inference he draws, but must lead him into absurdity and confusion. When the soul is separated from its present fetters, it can then perhaps know more of the nature of spiritual existence, and may know more of the real nature of the distinction of the Godhead, though it seems impossible that it can ever know the Divine Essence; otherwise what is created and dependent, would be equal to

that by which it was created, and on which it depends. You will see, therefore, that our belief is simply founded on a fact which reason would never have discovered, revealed by God himself, so far as it is necessary, inasmuch as it lies at the very foundation of the means of our redemption. The Bible has wisely revealed the fact in a way which is level to the meanest understanding, by embodying the person of the Divine Unity in those offices which directly bear upon our happiness here, and salvation hereafter; but it does not define the fact after the manner of schoolmen, nor give a dissertation on the nature and attributes of the Deity, nor why, nor how they exist. All the absurd errors that have arisen have been from the pride of human nature, for man would be thought wise on subjects which he can never understand while in this present state, and many of those writers who call themselves Christians have done incalculable mischief. I would ask any man, whether he has a clear idea of spiritual existence unconnected with matter. If he says he has, we must consider him insane, because the thing is impossible. If he says he has not, then I would ask on what grounds he reasons about a thing the nature of which he neither knows, nor can know in the present life. That God is a spirit, and exists and acts, we know, but this knowledge comes to our mind through the medium of matter, inferrible from effects which we know matter never could produce; and we know that the self-existent Being, the Creator of all, has revealed to us his attributes, and that he has sent his Son, who is God, and his Spirit, who is God, to heal our wanderings, to restore us to happiness, and to knowledge, and immortality. More than this the search of man can never discover, till he lay aside the body with which he is clothed."

"Then what would you do with those Divines," Lord B. said, "who have written so largely on the Trinity, and the fathers of the Church, and the creed of Athanasius, and others?"

"With respect to the creed of Athanasius, the sooner we get quit of it the better. Granting the inferences to be fairly drawn from what is revealed, they are mere truisms, which the mind perceives at once, and when announced with formality they have something ludicrous in them to the wicked and profane, giving rise to parodies, as in the case of Hone. It throws not the least light upon the subject, and being presented in one abstract form, which is never done

in the Scriptures, it provokes abstract discussions. The damnatory clause is reprehensible, for our minds are so constituted, that there are many serious Christians who cannot conceive that these reasonings, are fair inferences from Christian revelation, and though they were, cannot see the necessity of annexing a damnatory clause to anything that is of human composition. With regard to all the writers on the subject, I would make the following distinction. Whenever a man confines himself to shew, by Scripture proofs, that the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, and that there is but one Godhead, or unity of essence, he does what is his duty, and he uses that sort of argument by authority, which is the only one suited to the case. But if he mixes abstract reasonings and speculative deductions from the attributes of God respecting the mode of existence, and the office of the three persons of the Godhead, it is certain that he will either fall, or lead others into error. I am not familiarly acquainted with those writings which have professedly treated of the subject of the Trinity; but from what I have seen, it appears that many great divines, who relied on the strength of their own talents, have been justly accused of leaning either to an unity without the distinction of Trinity, or to tritheism. Dr. Samuel Clarke was accused of the former, and I am afraid gave too great cause for it, from his language. But I am inclined to believe that his error arose from an attempt to define and explain what is, to us, in our present state, indefinable and incomprehensible; for conscious of his own abilities, he attempted subjects that were beyond the reach of human capacity, as he has done in his reasoning on the existence and attributes of the Deity *à priori*. Newton also is accused of having been an unitarian, though I know not on what grounds. While on the other hand, Dr. Waterland, who opposed Clarke, is accused of having made use of language which savours too much of tritheism. I believe that it is utterly impossible to reason on this subject but in the way of authority drawn from the Scriptures, proving that the Son and Holy Ghost are equal to the Father, admit of a distinction, but constitute but one divine essence. And, whoever attempts more, will only shew his own absurdity, his want of sense, and his want of proper reverence for the Scriptures. No humble Christian ever makes a mistake on this subject. He believes what is revealed, he is conscious he cannot penetrate into these things, and he prays to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as one

and the same God, and to each according as he views the offices connected with his own redemption. Deists, when they assert that the Trinity is an incomprehensible and mysterious subject, forget that it is not so in itself, but from the state of human nature, which cannot comprehend the nature of spiritual existence were it revealed, and which has not been revealed, precisely because it cannot be comprehended at present, but as much of it as is revealed, is plain, easily comprehensible, consolatory, and satisfactory, and implies no more difficulty than any other truth in the Christian revelation. But while I have said so much on this abstract point, I cannot help expressing my surprise how it happens that those who are not religious invariably wish to begin with the subject which appears to them most difficult. The contrary is the case in all the other sciences except religion. Some time ago, S. and M. pressed me into discussion on predestination. It was in vain I attempted to evade it by asserting they were too ignorant to comprehend it, and that I would take up the subject at a future time. I was however, compelled to yield to them. But I could not make them understand, that if the end was destined, the means must be so likewise, a connexion which they invariably disunited, by alledging, that if a man was destined to be saved, it was of no importance what he did, he must be saved. Now such a mode of reasoning is absurd, and its absurdity would be seen, were it on any other subject: but it is impossible for any but a real Christian to reason fairly on Christianity. For if everything is destined, then the means must be destined, not the end only. Hence a man must be saved, not because he does what he will, that is, uses any means, but because he uses those means which are destined for salvation. But plain as this is, they could not or would not see it, and pronounced the doctrine horrid and unphilosophical; that it is so in their view of it I readily admit, but it so happens that their view of it is erroneous, the result of their own ignorance. On all these difficult subjects," I continued, "such as the nature of the origin of evil, the fall of man, the nature of the Trinity, and predestination, I find many who are ready to reason; and however they are disposed to acknowledge their ignorance of many of the sciences, and their deficiency in every branch of literature, yet each thinks himself sufficiently qualified by the strength of his own reason alone, without the help of the Scriptures, of which sometimes they readily acknowledge their ignorance, to investigate these subjects and to form just conclusions; and

when it is found impossible to make them comprehend these subjects, or feel their own ignorance, they throw the blame on the doctrines of Christianity, and on those who believe and defend them.

“ This is the wisdom of the world, which by reasoning attempts to find out God but cannot, but it is not the conduct of those who, like children listening to a parent’s voice, eagerly attend to the revelation which God has given them, and who by prayer, meditation, and reading, endeavour to find out his will. The former will never understand it—the latter will invariably succeed, I therefore advise your lordship to lay aside these subjects for the present, and study Christianity, not in the books of Divines, which are more or less imperfect, even the best of them, while many are full of error; but to commence an attentive and honest examination of the Bible itself, comparing passage with passage, till at last you will find such harmony and clearness in all its parts, and such a light and brightness of wisdom upon the whole, as will leave you in no doubt about its being from God, and its containing the communication of the only way in which you can be saved.”

“ You recommend,” said Lord Byron, “ what is very difficult. For how is it possible for a person acquainted with the history of the Church,—with the writings more or less of the most celebrated Divines,—with the questions which have been discussed, and which have convulsed the whole Christian world,—with the errors, the strange and contradictory opinions, which prevail: and above all, to see Christians at the present day split into so many sects and denominations, each envying, hating, and often reviling, at least writing, against one another,—how is it possible to see all this, and yet not inquire into many of those points which have been so much agitated? We have sentences of one Council against the sentence of another; Pope against Pope; book against book; sects rising up and dying away, and new ones succeeding them;—the Pope against Protestants and Protestants against the Pope, and against each other; Arians, Socinians Southcotians, Methodists, Quakers, Harmonists, and I do not know where to end. Why do these exist to perplex and puzzle the mind? and does it not seem a fair conclusion?—let it alone, and let these people fight among themselves, and when they have settled what religion is, then we can begin to study it.

“ I like, however,” he continued, “ your mode of religion

very much ; you knock away the decrees of councils ; you cast away every thing that disagrees with Scripture ; the books full of Greek and Latin, of high church and low church divines. You would remove too, I dare say, many of the abuses which have crept into church establishments. I doubt whether the archbishop of Canterbury would consider you a very great friend, nor the Scotch presbytery perhaps. On predestination, however, I do not think as S. and M. ; for it appears to me, just from my own reflections and experiences, that I am influenced in a way which is incomprehensible, and am led to do things which I never intended ; and if there is, as we all admit, a Supreme Ruler of the universe, and if, as you say, he has the actions of the devils, as well as of his own angels, completely at his command, then those influences, or those arrangements of circumstances, which lead us to do things against our will, or with ill-will, must be also under his direction. But I have never entered into the depths of the subject, but contented myself with believing that there is a predestination of events, and that that predestination depends on the will of God."

"You have placed it," I said, "on its proper foundation. With regard to some of your observations, the difficulties you mention as lying in the way of Christianity are more apparant than real, and are used only as excuses by those who have no inclination to study it. The differences among Christians, the corruption and abuses of church establishments, are certainly to be much lamented, and if I could remedy them, I would, and so would every honest man, of whatever sect to which he might belong. If each who professed Christianity, not only understood its doctrines clearly, in all their simplicity and spirituality, but reduced them to practice in his life and conversation, the aspect of our religion would be more bright and alluring than it ever has been, or is at present. But, it must be observed, that many profess Christianity, who are not Christians ; nay, some teach it who are not so, since it is taken up by many as a liberal profession ; such as medicine, or law, by which they gain their daily bread. That such should act according to their dispositions, characters, and circumstances, in a way different to that which religion prescribes, and consequently, in a manner so contrary to its precepts, as to throw a sort of odium and stigma on religion itself, in the estimation of the careless and superficial, is not to be wondered at : it is equally true, and still more to be regretted, that there are many

weak Christians, whose zeal and sincerity are undoubted, yet who, from the weakness of their understanding, attribute an importance to things which are either indifferent or unessential, and who, (according to circumstances) either persecute those who think differently, or are persecuted by others equally weak, who differ from them in opinion.—From these two classes of people, from their actions, and writings, and conduct, much mischief ensues. Divisions, schisms, and dissensions, are produced; and the more keenly each writes and reasons in defence of his own notions, or those of the party to which he belongs, the more firmly he flatters himself he is in the right, and imagines he is animated with a pure zeal for the church; when, in reality, he is simply gratifying a busy, pragmatistical disposition, and confounds the applause of an active partizan to a particular church, with the fervour of a true Christian and follower of Christ. Though, in consequence of these principles, divisions exist in name and external practice among Christians, they afford no excuse to the deist; because a little attention would shew him, that these differences are chiefly in things indifferent, and unessential, arising from the imperfection of human nature, or from the imperfection of the Christian character, or from hypocrites who mix among them; but, among all those sects that are entitled to the name of Christian, there is a perfect agreement with respect to the fundamental principles. Though a Scotchman, for example, I can conscientiously subscribe to all the articles of the church of England; every Scotchman can do the same; so can all the Independents, Congregationalists, and Methodists, and perhaps all real Church-of-Englandmen would subscribe to the fundamental articles of the other denominations. The absurdity is, that a Scotchman passing the Tweed becomes a dissenter, and an Englishman going to Scotland, becomes the same; a zealous Presbyterian thinks that every church, not founded on presbyteries and synods, is corrupt and unapostolical; a Church-of-Englandman attaches the same importance to bishops, archbishops, deans, &c.; a zealous Independent thinks that the church should be separate from the state, and each church independent of another.

“All such opinions are decidedly wrong, and contrary to the spirit and express precepts of Christianity. A man of sense laments the existence of such differences, and would, if he could, promote an intimate union among all these or-

thodox sects, by removing those appendages in the externals of each, which would enable all to approximate nearer to each other.

The first sentiment which Chalmers ever published was, that all dissenters should be united to the church by some legal measure, which would leave them free on points where, from principle, or weakness of conscience, they differed; and that the name and stigma attached to a dissenter should be buried in oblivion; for there is work enough for all Christians, to preach and teach amidst the pagans which are born, live, and die around us! Though I would sincerely wish to see this union effected, and the different churches reformed, as far as some of the externals are concerned, I do not wish to see this reformation attempted by Radicals: nor do I think that the attacks lately made on the church establishment will have any other result, than to perpetuate the abuses which all must admit. These Radicals have little loyalty, and less piety; at least many of them have openly professed their deistical principles; and no honest man can join in wishing them success. Their arguments betray their ignorance; and it is evident, if they could succeed, that they would maintain that a nation is as well without, as with a church establishment. No Christian would ever wish to see the money applied to teach religion and morality withdrawn: he might say, that it might be more justly distributed, and given only to those who execute their duty; and that he would like to see real religion flourish in every part of the nation, without the distinction of churchman or dissenter; and that the funds should be applied in such a way, as most effectually to promote these objects exclusively; and that means should be adopted which should tend to repress the ambition of rank, wealth, and indolence, literary or political.

From such an union, however, I would exclude Arians, Socinians, Swedenborgians, and fanatics of all descriptions; leaving to them, not only toleration, but perfect liberty of conscience. These people have no right to the name of Christians. The Arians deny that the Son is equal to the Father; although he himself expressly declares that he is. The Socinians say, he is not a divine character; yet these sects call themselves Christians, while they reject the testimony of Christ. The other fanatics are too absurd in their fancies and imaginations to be reasoned with.

"You seem to hate the Socinians," said Lord Byron.

"Not the individuals," I replied, "but their principles. I believe their system a terrible delusion, and that there is more hope of a Deist than of a Socinian, becoming a real Christian."

"But is this charitable?" he asked; "why would you exclude a sincere Socinian from the hope of salvation?"

"I do not exclude him, and certainly I am no judge; nor ought we to judge of the ultimate state of any one; but comparing the Socinian doctrines with those in the Bible, the one or the other must be wrong."

"But they draw their doctrine from the Bible," said Lord B. "Yes, so do all the fools, enthusiasts, and fanatics; so the Church of Rome founds a system of idolatry, as absurd as ancient or modern paganism, on the Bible. The Socinians reject such parts of the Scripture, as interpolations, or corruptions, which do not suit their scheme; they turn literal things into metaphorical, and metaphorical into literal, until they succeed in representing original sin, the depravity of our nature, the necessity of atonement, and consequently the whole necessity of a revelation, as perfectly useless. Setting aside the evidence on which these doctrines stand, it is obvious, according to their scheme, that there was very little need of a Saviour. The truth is, the Socinians are all unregenerated men; their hearts require to be renewed and their heads enlightened; and their danger is, that they have formed a false system of religion, and cling to it in the hope of safety. If any of them are sincerely seeking the truth, God will in due time teach them, and bring them out of their Socinian delusion; but those who die believing it, die, as far as I can judge, unregenerated, and consequently, according to the Scriptures, die in a most dangerous state."

"Their religion," said his lordship, "seems to be spreading very much. Lady B. is a great one among them, and much looked up to. She and I used to have a great many discussions on religion, and some of our differences arose from this point; but on comparing all the points together, I found that her religion was very similar to mine."

I said I was exceedingly sorry to hear that her ladyship was among such a set, and I hoped that ere long she would see her error and danger. "But," I added, "were thousands more of the great, and the noble, and the learned among them, Christianity will stand and raise its head with ultimate success from amidst the ruins of superstition, ignorance, idolatry, and damnable heresies."

"I should have been pleased," said Lord B. "that you had known Shelley. I should like to have seen you argue together. You very much remind me of him, not only in countenance, but in your manner of speaking. He was to have been my companion in Greece, poor fellow! had the unfortunate accident which deprived him of life not taken place."

I replied, that I should indeed have been pleased, were he here now: not that I might argue with him, but that time might have been given to him to change his sentiments, and amend his life. "I never read any of his writings, but I have seen some extracts from them in the 'Quarterly Review,' and most certainly it would be no honour to resemble him in his opinions, whatever it might be to do so in other respects. From what he says there, he appears to me to have been a man totally destitute of common sense. His poetry may perhaps be fine and sublime, but to me it is perfectly unintelligible; unless so far as it appeared that the poor man was a virulent hater of Christianity, and ascribed all the evils and miseries of life to its introduction."

"I do not at all mean to defend his sentiments," said Lord B., "nor to approve of the mode in which he published them; but Shelley possessed many virtues, and many excellent qualities, and you would have liked him as a companion. He was cool in his manner; yet impassioned, animated, and eloquent in his conversation. I was much amused with him and another gentleman," (he mentioned the name, but I forgot it;) "one was a Platonist, the other was not; and, after long arguments they converted each other."

"A proof," I said, "that the opinions of neither were sound nor well weighed. Such things do very well for school-boys; but how a man of sense can conscientiously believe in the numbers and ideas of Plato is to me inexplicable. I wish sincerely, however, that Shelley had been alive, that the wanderings of his imagination had subsided, and that he had become a sober, sensible man, a good Christian, and an honest member of society."

"He possessed," said his lordship, "one of the first Christian virtues, charity and benevolence. His benevolence was universal, and his charity far beyond his means."

"This is a virtue," I replied, "and esteemed such among Christians, undoubtedly, but it is not a Christian virtue, unless it proceeds from Christian principles. With Shelley it surely could not be a Christian virtue. I admit that it is

a virtue, a heathen or an infidel virtue, if you please; and he has had, and let him have, as much praise from men on account of it as he deserves: but in the sight of God it is nothing, for he has declared that nothing is pleasing to him, but what proceeds from a proper motive and principle, the fundamental point of which, belief in and love to Christ, was unfortunately wanting in Shelley. His fate is lamentable. I heard that he came out either to prosecute his inquiries with a view to overturn Christianity, or to write a book with that intent. Poor man! he little knew against whom he was fighting. His time came, and he died; died with his sins unrepented of and unanealed,—a striking warning to others, as to the opinions they should form, the mode in which they should live, and the necessity of preparing for death and judgment.”

“I see,” said Lord B., “it is impossible to excite in your mind sympathy, or obtain a proper degree of allowance, for an unfortunate man of fine genius and imagination.”

“I have as much sympathy,” I said, “and more than those who may praise and lament him the loudest; at least I ought to have more, not because a fine poet was lost to the world, but because a fellow-creature died so awfully and suddenly; and, in such a career of wild and infidel principles and sentiments, was summoned to the presence of the judge.”

I observed that by this time the day was declining, and apologized to his lordship for having detained him so long. “The subjects are perhaps more interesting,” I said, “to me than to you, and in pressing them on your notice, with a hope that they may do you good, I am apt to forget times and seasons. I must now return to the city, and I trust and pray that your lordship will give due attention to them; for without a belief in these doctrines, you can never be happy here, nor safe hereafter. God has given you a fine understanding, a knowledge to distinguish between right and wrong. Every subject to which you choose to direct your attention, you can master; but there is no art or science which you can learn by intuition. Bestow then as much of your time on the examination of religion, as you would upon any other subject which may excite your interest, and you will find that it is in every respect most reasonable: and I trust you will become, what I hope one day to see you, an ornament and boast to your country, and an object of joy to every honest and sincere Christian.”

“I intend to study the subject certainly,” said Lord B.

"you must give me time: you see I have begun well; I listen to every thing that is said, but you cannot expect me to become a good Christian all at once; you have found me, have you not? approach nearer to your sentiments than you had expected."

"You have indeed done so, and I rejoice at it; and I have no hesitation in saying, that I have more hope of your lordship than of the others, with the exception of one: for you have shewn more candour, and patience, than I could possibly have expected."

"Who is it that you have more hope of than me?" "It is S.," I said, "though of him I am not certain; the result of all depends on the will of God: yet, judging by human probabilities and means, I would augur well of S. He possesses a wild and fanciful imagination, has never studied the subject, nor bestowed on it any attention; his mind is full of a Christianity, the result of his own false conceptions; he has therefore despised it; and even now, when he is better informed, his former imaginations run away with him; and notwithstanding the knowledge he has acquired, he bursts forth, and flies into the most fanciful objections, views, and absurdities. But he possesses a sincere, open, and honest understanding; and if this has fair play, if life is prolonged to him, and his attention continue to be directed to the subject, I have not the slightest doubt but it will terminate in conviction."

"As for the others, I do not know what to think or say. They seem so hardened and indifferent, that the subject appears only as an exercise of their reason, or a means of amusement and ridicule. It is difficult to keep your attention fixed on the subject. You enter into other studies, amusements, and occupations, and religion does not engage your thoughts; thus, you can never understand it. The accidental circumstance of my being here has excited a transient interest and curiosity, which will vanish probably as soon as we are separated. I shall do what I can among you, and the principal thing which I would urge with you all, is your almost perfect ignorance of the subject, consequently the necessity of studying it. With respect to myself, I have to request, that if I advance an opinion which does not appear well founded, you will ascribe its insufficiency to me; and I beg that you will throw the blame on me rather than on religion; for though I may not be able to explain every thing well, or in a manner satisfactory to

you, I beg to assure you that others can. One thing is evident, that every one of you must change your sentiments, and mode of life, before you can be safe; and if you reject religion, it must be at your own peril, and not from any defect in the clearness, force, and evidence of its truth."

"I own," said Lord B., "the difficulty of fixing, and continuing one's attention to such subjects, considering the circumstances in which we are placed, and the strong and urgent calls to other matters. I think, however, that I may say I shall bestow more attention on it than I have hitherto done; but whether I shall reach the standard of orthodoxy, I know not."

"We have no standard of orthodoxy, except the leading principles of Christianity, followed by a pure and pious life. I do not wish you, nor any one else, to enter into the mazes of theological speculation. Christianity is a practical thing: reduce it to practice, believing first in the fundamental doctrines, and we shall all be satisfied.

"The best way of understanding the Scriptures, is to take the Bible by itself, and examine its several parts, and what is obscure, or briefly expressed in one part, will be found clearly and fully stated in another. The doctrines are not presented to us in a systematized form, but are declared, applied, and implied, and repeated, according to the actual circumstances of the people and the time in which they were revealed. Many good men, from the love of system, have narrowed, and limited the doctrine of the Scriptures; and in the systems which have been presented to us at different times, there is much which is merely inferential, and, consequently, less certain than that which is direct and positive. Although no system, at least none which I have seen, is free from objections; yet, these are not without their use, inasmuch as they present, in one strict, and concentrated view, the whole of the doctrines and actions which ought to flow from them. We should, however, never forget that they are the compositions of men liable to error, and though they may be read as assistants, they are never to be taken as the standard of our faith. Whenever a difficulty or dispute arises, it must be settled by the words and meaning of the Scriptures themselves, and not by any thing which an uninspired Christian may write or say.

"I have very few books with me on religious subjects, and none which present a complete view, or systematic arrangement of Christianity, except one. It is perhaps the

best that has been published, and I know of none which has been so extensively useful, especially to the poor; and I acknowledge that I have derived more instruction and improvement from it, than from works of greater fame and higher pretensions. It is 'Boston's Fourfold State,' which describes man as he was in a state of innocence, before the fall; in a state of condemnation after it; in a state of begun recovery, or regeneration and sanctification; and in a state of happiness or misery. It has the merit of being short; and though it is written in a plain, and rather antiquated style, it is bold and energetic in its language: every assertion is supported by reference to Scripture, and it is full of matter and ideas, and some of them striking and original: if you please, I will send it to you; I think that you may read it with great advantage."

"I shall read it with great pleasure," said Lord B.; "I have not the least prejudice against the style of our older writers, I am quite accustomed to it, and prefer the force and energy of their language, to the soft harmonious periods of the present day, which have more sound than sense."

I now rose to depart; and I said to Lord B., "Although I may perhaps have wearied your lordship with so long a lecture, yet, I am so pleased with the attention you have shewn, and I have so much hope that it may be useful, at least so far as to induce your lordship to prosecute the study of Christianity, that I should feel great pleasure to have another opportunity of conversing with you, if agreeable and convenient."

"I shall be glad to see you at all times, and as often as you can come out. I have no particular engagements. When my friends come from Argostoli, it is on no fixed day." "Does your lordship intend soon to go to Greece?" "In about ten days or a fortnight all things will be ready, I believe, for our departure; but there is nothing that can prevent me from seeing and hearing you at any time; and if you should come when I am out riding, just sit down and take a book, and amuse yourself till I return. You will find"—looking at the books on the side tables—"something to amuse you, although they are rather upon profane than sacred things."

I then took leave of Lord B., and rode down to see an officer who lived a mile beyond his house, and on my return I met his lordship and Count Gamba riding home with great speed for a heavy shower had just come on.

On reflecting on all that had passed, I thought there were many things which I should have added, and others which I ought to have expressed in a manner more forcible and clear. I thought I had done wrong also in allowing the subject to engross me so much, as I feared lest my long conversation would rather tire than interest him. On examination, however, it appeared to me, that Lord B. shewed no signs of weariness, but continued as attentive and active at the close as at the commencement.

His ideas were rapid, and his associations very singular. He was lively and animated, and, though apparently expressing his real sentiments, there was never any great degree of seriousness mixed with them, nor did he ever allow any opportunity of uttering a pun, or saying a smart thing, to escape him. It was impossible, from the rapidity of his manner and ideas, that the conversation should be very connected, and I was often obliged to bring him back to the subject when he wandered from it, which I did indeed so intentionally and incessantly, that it could only have been justified by the circumstance, that there was an implied understanding that I visited him only on account of religion; and therefore it was excusable in me to make as much of my time as possible, in order to convince him of its truth.

There was nothing in his manner which approached to levity, or any thing that indicated a wish to mock at religion; though, on the other hand, an able dissembler could have done and said all that he did with such feelings and intentions. On the whole, I was satisfied that I had endeavoured simply to do my duty, but I was not satisfied that I had done it well: while I am perfectly uncertain what impression was made on Lord B.'s mind.

I was not able to visit him so soon as I had intended, as I was seized with a sore throat, which confined me to my room for several days. In the meantime some of our friends visited him, and the conversation with each turned more or less upon me, and on what I had said to him; and what he said was repeated to me by those to whom he had spoken.

I asked one gentleman who was rather intimate with him; "Do you really think that Lord B. is serious in his expressed desire of hearing religion explained: has he exhibited any contempt or ridicule at what I said? I wish to know the truth; because if his lordship merely wishes to enjoy the novelty of a religious scene, and to study characters, it

would be useless to give myself any farther trouble about him, but if he is in earnest, then it is my duty to do all that I can."

The gentleman assured me that he had never heard Lord B. allude to the subject in any way which could induce him to suspect that he was merely amusing himself, "But on the contrary," said he, "he always names you with respect. But he added, "I do not think you have made much impression on him; he is just the same fellow as before. He says he does not know what religion you are of, for you neither adhered to creeds nor councils—that you were very frank and liberal, and confined yourself to the Scriptures alone, without caring anything about the speculations of Divines. He likes this, but he does not understand your doctrine of the Trinity, as you seem to separate the Persons from the Essence, and make the essence quite distinct and separate."

I said I was sorry Lord B. had misunderstood me on both points. In the first place my religion is not new it is the religion of all real Christians, whether in the church of England, Scotland or among Dissenters, abstracted from all speculation about ceremonies and external worship;—things which are of minor importance, and on which so many differ, should not be brought before his lordship's mind at present. My object was to fix his attention on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, respecting which all Christians agreed. With respect to the second point, the mistake was equally great; for I had expressly stated that the three Holy persons in the Trinity were the same in essence, though I had said that this essence could never be perfectly comprehended by us, even in our highest state of enjoyment in heaven; for how could a finite being comprehend one who is infinite? "I am glad you have mentioned these things to me, as it is of importance that I should undeceive him, for I should be vexed, if he imagined that I had a new scheme of religion, or that I entered into incómprehensible and speculative opinions of the Deity, which I had always to him so strongly condemned, as indicating a weakness of understanding,"

The wits of the garrison made themselves merry with what was going on, and passed many jokes on the subject. Some of them affected to believe,—I know not on what ground,—that Lord B.'s wish to hear me proceeded from his desire to have an accurate idea of the opinions and man-

ners of the Methodists, in order that he might make Don Juan become one for a time, and thus paint their conduct with the greater accuracy and fidelity; some of them did not hesitate to tell me that this was the case, and that if I were wise, I should let his lordship alone.

My answer was short and decided, "I could not affirm that Lord B, had not the intentions they ascribed to him, but if he had he did not act like a gentleman in wishing, of his own accord and at his own request, to be introduced to me, to hear me on these subjects; but if such were his design, it would have no effect upon me, as I neither feared his ridicule nor his poetry, and would therefore converse with him on the subject till such time as it was more certain what his secret intentions were,"

After I was recovered, I took the first opportunity of going out to visit his lordship. I arrived about eleven, and found him at home and disengaged. He said he was sorry to hear I had been ill. "I intended, if it had continued longer, to call and visit you." I thanked him for his politeness, and said, "It was fortunately a very slight illness, but that poor M, and his wife were very unwell," His lordship expressed himself sorry to hear it, and inquired how he was. "The cause of his illness is very strange. How could a man in his senses act as he did; If he recover, it will be a lesson to him for the future." I assured him much of what had been said was exaggerated, and trusted, that if he recovered, which I hoped, for his own sake and that of his friends, he would, his illness would tend to fix his mind seriously upon those subjects which he had hitherto derided. "You have made no convert of him, I believe," said his lordship. "How does S. get on? Is he in a fair way still?" "He continues," I replied, "to read the Bible, to reflect on these subjects, and he has read several books which I gave him; and though he is not convinced, his progress hitherto is so far pleasing."

"Has your lordship," I said, "read any of the books I took the liberty of sending?" "I have looked into Boston, but have not had time to read far. I am afraid it is too deep for me!" "Be not afraid," I said "but continue, and you will find it easier than you imagine; for how can that be deep which the most illiterate people understand? The scroll that I sent you about Warburton, perhaps you will not be able to make out; if you will give it to me now, I will read it to you, as you may find my hand writing difficult." "Not at

all," said his lordship, "I mean to give all you have sent me a serious perusal; but of late I have been busy with my correspondence, and in preparing to set out for Greece." "When does your lordship depart?" "I have not fixed the time; I shall wait for information, and to hear further from Trelawny and Brown. The discord and dissensions among the Greeks are still unsettled." "Would it not be better for your lordship to wait here, and by your counsels and correspondence, keep the discordant parties in check? for each will hope to gain your favour and approbation. If you go into Greece, you must unite with one party, consequently the other will immediately become your enemy." "That scheme may be good, and it accords with my wishes. I like this place, I do not know why, and dislike to move. There are not, to be sure, many allurements here, neither from the commodiousness of the house nor the bleak view of the black mountain,—there is no learned society,—nor the presence of beautiful women; and yet, for all that, I would wish to remain, as I have found myself more comfortable, and my time passes more cheerfully than it has for a long time done." "Why not remain longer, then? your health and comfort ought to be among the first objects of your consideration; nor ought they to be sacrificed, unless you were certain that your presence in Greece would be attended with advantages, which is still doubtful; while your presence here, and your counsels, cannot fail to diminish the conflict of the contending parties, and hold in some degree the balance between them." He said, "I have pledged myself in the cause, and something is expected from me; whether I can do any good, I know not; but I cannot recede, and being so near, it will be attributed to other motives than prudential or political, if I remain here. After all, it is my own indolence that makes me dislike to move: for though I have been a sort of wanderer on earth, I have always quitted each place of residence with some regret, from a dislike of trouble and care, I suppose." I replied, "If you go to Greece, you will find it difficult to procure that quiet and retirement which are conducive to health. Your name, your money, are objects of too much importance and influence not to excite the hopes of the different parties; and you will be forced into public life, whether you will or no, and may be led into scenes which will be displeasing to your humanity. Amidst the barbarous and unprincipled chiefs and partizans in Greece, a chief of superior power, influence, energy, and

decision, is required—a sort of Buonaparte, who will execute the laws with severity and rigour, and compel obedience, by awe and terror, among men who are too much influenced by party spirit and selfish views to listen to the voice of humanity or justice. This is wanted among the lawless and turbulent sons of Greece; and he who is not prepared to act with energy, and enforce obedience, even by a terror and severity which are foreign to his nature, is very little likely to do much good in Greece.” “I know the Greeks,” said his lordship, “well, and know also, that when I go over, I shall be beset by the different parties, to some of whom, who shall find out my weak side, I shall become the prey; and be with them a favourite as long as my name and money can be of any use to them.”

Count G. here entered the room, and some general conversation was held about the weather and news: after a few moments he retired, and the conversation was resumed between his lordship and myself.

“You will have an opportunity of seeing probably today Lord Sidney Osborne, from Corfu.” “When did he arrive?” asked his lordship. “Last night.” “What did he come for?” “I do not know,” I said; “but rumour says it is simply to pay you a visit.” “I am very glad of it, I have not seen him a long time; we are relations. He is a merry fellow, and has some fine qualities, but I do not know if he is very religious. Do you know him?” I answered, “No.” “Then,” he said, “you must stay, and try and convert him.” I said, “I willingly would if I could, but that I had no great encouragement from those whom I had already tried, to begin with new ones; let me first convert your lordship, and you can assist me in converting others; your name, example, and eloquence, will then have great effect, and pave the way for great success.”

“I have begun,” he said, “very fairly; I have given some of your tracts to Fletcher, who is a good sort of a man, but still wants, like myself, some reformation, and I hope he will spread them among the other servants, who require it still more. Bruno and Gamba are busy reading some of the Italian tracts, and I hope it will have a good effect upon them. The former is rather too decided against it at present, and too much engaged with a spirit of enthusiasm for his own profession, to attend to other subjects; but we must have patience, and we shall see what has been the result.” “I pray that it may be a good one, but let them not

want your good example, which you know must have a powerful influence upon them."

"I do not fail, he said, "to read from time to time my Bible, though not so much, perhaps, as I should." "Have you begun to pray that you may understand it?" "Not yet," he said, "I have not arrived at that pitch of faith yet, but it may come by-and-by; you are in too great a hurry. Remember how long you have been with S. and M., and others, and consider what progress they have made. Does S., the most hopeful of these, pray?" "No," I said, "I hardly believed it; for a few days ago he told me he did not see the use of prayer, as God who knew our thoughts before we could utter them, required no formal act, and form of words, which could convey no new information to him." "Well, and what said you to that?" "I reasoned with him on the subject—told him it was a positive duty commanded—that it would not have been so, had it not been useful—that it was an act of worship, and adoration, due to the Creator, and a means of grace: inasmuch as the effect left on the mind was always conducive to virtue and piety, and kept us in a proper frame for fulfilling all our various duties, in thought, word, and deed." "But you have not convinced him?" "No, I know too well the folly and pride of the heart. It is the last, and one of the most difficult acts of conviction, to force a sinner on his knees; but when once he is reduced to this, his case is hopeful. When I see you or any of the others in this state, I shall then begin to entertain very favourable hopes of you." "And till then, you will think us in a bad way?" "Certainly, and decidedly." "But," I continued, "we must not despair; continue to read the Scriptures, to reflect on what you read, and this first and most important, point, will be soon gained, and its utility and necessity will be in time enforced clearly on your mind, better than by any argument that I can use."

"There was a book," said his lordship, "which I intended to shew you; I believe it is here," going to a side table on which a great number of books were ranged. He soon took hold of an octavo, and shewed it to me. I looked at the title-page, and found it "Illustrations of the Moral Government of God, by E. Smith, M. D., London." "Have you seen it?" asked his lordship. "No," I said, "I had neither seen it nor heard of it: what is its object?" "The author," he replied, "proves that the punishment of hell is not eternal—it will have a termination." "This is no new

doctrine," I said: "the author, I suppose is one of the Socinians, who in a short time will try to get rid of every doctrine in the Bible; and terminate (which, indeed, if they were consistent, they would already have done) in pure deism. How did your lordship get hold of this book?" "They sent it out to me from England, to make a convert of me, I suppose: the arguments he uses are strong. He draws them from the Bible itself, and by shewing that a time will come when every intelligent creature shall be supremely happy, and eternally so, he expunges that shocking doctrine, that sin and misery will for ever exist under the government of a God whose highest attribute is love and goodness; and thus, by removing one of the greatest difficulties, reconciles us to the wise and good Creator whom the Scriptures reveal."

"But," I said, "how does he account for the existence of sin and misery in the world at present, and for its having existed six thousand years? This is equally inconsistent with the idea of the pure love and goodness of God, or such a notion of it, to the exclusion of his justice and holiness; and if they exist now in our time, as no one can deny, without being incompatible with the Divine goodness, why may not sin and misery exist for ever, if sinners remain impenitent, and refuse the only remedy which can render them good, without being inconsistent with his attributes?" "Nay," he said, that is not a strong argument; for a good God can permit sin to exist for a while, but evince his goodness and power at last, by rooting it all out, and rendering all his creatures happy." "I admit he can, but still the principle I contend for holds good,—that, for aught we know, sin may exist for ever, if it can exist for a while, without being inconsistent with the Divine attributes; for what is not inconsistent at one time cannot be so at another; and the fact, whether the case will be so or not, will depend on other principles than the mere consistency or inconsistency of sin and misery, under a divine government. Its duration, whether through time or eternity, must depend upon some other principle."

"Well," he replied, "it proves the goodness of God, and is more consistent with the notions of our reason, to believe, that if God for wise purposes, permitted sin to exist for a while, in order, perhaps, to bring about a greater good than could have been effected without it, that his goodness will be more strikingly manifested, in anticipating the time when

every intelligent creature will be purified from sin, and relieved from misery, and rendered permanently happy."

"It would," I said, "certainly be more suitable to our ideas of humanity, to believe that hell, or a place of punishment, did not exist, or that finally it will be abolished, and all, even the devils rendered happy; but our ideas and notions, imperfect as we acknowledge ourselves, cannot surely be the measure by which to judge of God, nor the rule by which he will act. As of ourselves we cannot ascertain, either by conjecture, hypothesis, or experiment, anything about eternity, except what God is pleased to reveal to us, his revelation must decide the point; and we must receive it precisely as it is given, and neither believe more nor less than what he reveals: and if he reveals a temporary hell, we may believe it, and rejoice at it, for the sake of those who die impenitent; but if he reveals a hell of eternal duration, we must receive it, and grant God to know, rather better than we can, what is compatible with his goodness, and infer with certainty that it must be so, or it would not be." "Come," said his lordship, "the author founds his belief on the very Scriptures themselves." "What does he say?" I asked. "Here," said his lordship, handing the book, "you may find many passages in the Bible, where the word Everlasting, or Eternal, signifies limited duration." I took the book, and looked over several extracts, in which the word *αἰών*, which simply signifies age, is read, for a limited time; from which the author inferred that it might probably always signify the same—that when eternal punishment is mentioned, it only means punishment from ages to ages, but never implies that it will have no termination.

After glancing over a few pages, I said, "If the author has no further evidence of the limited duration of eternal punishment than these critical reasonings upon the meaning of words in the Greek language, and presumes that this doctrine is more suitable to our ideas of the infinite goodness of God, I am afraid he will find himself miserably mistaken, when time shall have an end, and when duration is no longer measured by the heavenly bodies—when, as we have reason to believe, existence will be eternal, without limit or termination. This existence after time, and what is meant by Eternal in our language, the Greeks have no other way of expressing than by the word *αἰώνιος*, from age to age, forever, eternal: when the word is applied to things and objects of this world, it must be understood from

the nature of the subject, and implies a duration commensurate with the existence of the present state of things ; but when it is applied to things after the close of the present state, as is the case when the last judgment is pronounced, it must clearly be understood to refer to eternity, or an existence without measure of time or duration, as it is used evidently to denote such a state of existence. I should like to know, from the author, what other word the Greek language affords to express eternity. If the word *αἰώνιος* often and necessarily implies duration, it does so because it is applied to temporal things, but the phrase *εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνων*, never, as far as I have known, is applied to temporal things, but to what is eternal, and is never employed but when speaking of existence after the termination of this world. It is strictly equivalent to our *for ever and ever*, which implies limited duration without end ; and it has no more been deemed necessary to repeat *αἰών*, &c. &c., than it has been to repeat the words *ever and ever* more frequently in our language for the expression of eternity."

Were it granted, therefore, that in the Scripture these terms indiscriminately are applied to time, and to proper eternity,—which, however, is not the case, since there is always a reduplication of the phrase when applied to eternity,—is it a proper conclusion that there is no strict eternity, since we have no word exclusively to express it, and because we, in the looseness of language, apply the same terms to both states of things ? This, surely, no man of common reasoning would contend for. The author, therefore has puzzled and confused himself with words. He must allow that there is an eternity, or unlimited duration after time. If he allows it, then he must shew that the Greek language could have furnished other and better terms to express unlimited duration, and there would be some force in his argument ; but as he cannot, it is a most absurd and ridiculous conclusion, that because the same word or phrase is applied to both states, that one only, to wit, limited duration, exists. This would, indeed, make us slaves to terms. I have always understood that words are received in a greater or less latitude according to the nature of the objects to which they are applied, and that one word or phrase is always modified in the meaning by the context. But," I continued, "there are other and still more irresistible grounds on which the author may be confuted. It is a complete and virtual denial of the atonement and death of Christ, and of the whole scheme of

salvation as taught in the Scriptures. If purgatory is to take place, not after the sinner's death, but after the last judgment, and is to have the effect of purifying a man from sin, by some mode which he does not explain, (after a greater or less extent of duration,) what was the use of Christ's coming into the world? Both this scheme, and that of the Roman Catholic purgatory is absurd: though this far surpasses the other, for the former is to terminate at the last judgment,—this to take place after it; and if either were true,—if an expiation of sin could be made by suffering,—then faith in Christ and the renovation of the character by the influence of the Holy Spirit, is vain. The few that would be saved and rendered fit for heaven in the former way, would bear no comparison with the number of those ultimately saved by bearing the punishment of their own sins. And it may be asked why was such a preparation of miracles and prophecies made to announce the approach of Christ,—and why did the Divine nature submit to take a human form, and bear the sufferings of a persecuted life and ignominious death? Will all these men have a day of judgment set apart for them, in order that it may be decided whether they are sufficiently absolved, and fit for heaven; or will each be taken up as his period expires; And how, and by what means, are their united natures to be changed,—are they to become holy, pure, and obedient under the torments of punishment? For it is not clearly seen how punishment can change the heart, it is now seen rather to harden it,—and the whole scheme of the Christian revelation is decidedly against it; for if the one is true, the other cannot be so."

"But why are you," said his lordship, "so anxious to maintain and prove the eternity of hell punishments? It is certainly not a humane doctrine, and appears very inconsistent with the mild and benevolent doctrines of Christ."

"I maintain it," I said, "because it is revealed in the Scriptures, and because a disbelief in it renders the whole of the doctrines of Christ perfectly unnecessary, and is quite subversive of them; and it appears nothing else than a delusion of the devil to persuade men to continue in sin here, under the assurance that it will be well with them at last."

"A real Christian has, in one sense, the least occasion, of all others, to think about the punishment of hell. It is not a motive of his obedience—because he obeys from love to Christ. He has no occasion to dread the punishment of hell,

since Christ has ransomed him from this by his blood and prepared him for heaven,—bestowing on him faith, and sanctifying him by the influence of his spirit. But it is the Christians duty, from a love to the revealed will of God, and from humanity to his fellow creature, to prevent the Scriptures from being perverted, and to demonstrate the danger of those erroneous opinions, which lead men to sinful actions; or to the neglect of that great salvation, by which alone they can escape that punishment which must be eternal.”

“I cannot decide the point,” said his lordship. “But to my present apprehension, it would be a most desirable thing, could it be proved, that ultimately all created beings were to be happy. This would appear to be most consistent with the nature of God, whose power is omnipotent, and whose principal attribute is love. I cannot yield to your doctrine of the eternal duration of punishment; this author’s opinion is more humane, and I think he supports it very strongly from Scripture.” “Well,” I said, “I am sorry that I cannot convince your lordship, and I am also sorry that I have been led to say so much on a subject which has occupied the place of others still more important; but in order to shew you that there is no force in the arguments of this author, I shall if you please, take the book home and put down reasons on paper, which I think will satisfy you, as you will have an opportunity of deliberately considering the question.” “Do so,” said he, “I shall then with more leisure examine the subject*.”

“You have sent me,” said Lord B., “an account of the death of Lord Rochester, as a tract, *par excellence*, having a particular reference to me.” “Something of this sort was in my mind when I put up this tract with the others; but my principal wish was to give you a copy of each of the tracts in my possession, in hope that, as they are all good and short, something in one or other of them might arrest your attention.” “But,” added he, “I am not quite satisfied with Lord Rochester’s conversion; there will always remain this uncertainty about it, that perhaps had he recovered, and been placed among his former companions, he would have relapsed; and while this uncertainty prevails, we can never be assured of his real conversion.” I admitted that this was true; yet, I added, “we shall be perfectly satisfied if we find that your lordship, who follows him in some

* See Appendix.

points, should also preserve a resemblance of him at his departure." "What, do you wish me to die so early, without giving due and unequivocal proofs of my conversion, and making atonement for past sins?" He said this smiling. "No," I said, "I wish your life to be long preserved, and that you may become as eminent a Christian as you are at present a great man. But should this be the case, we may be allowed to wish that your latter end may be like his, and though we cannot be assured of your salvation, yet we shall have every reason which the case admits, to believe you are safe, without any such paltry doubts; for you will have given all the proof which circumstances permitted of the reality of your conversion.

"Lord Rochester did everything that a man could do, to prove the sincerity of his conversion; and the presumption is, that had he lived he would have done more. No Christian can entertain any doubt with respect to him, though I allow that his case cannot be brought forward as an irrefragable argument with one who doubts, or who has never felt in his own heart the spirit of true religion."

"I have looked," said his lordship, "into 'Leslie's Short Method with the Deists,' and I am not perfectly satisfied with his mode of reasoning. It does not appear to me by any means so demonstrative as many imagine." "I admit," I said, "there are many other views of Christianity likely to produce a greater impression on a doubting mind than this work. But you must remember, that this book is confined to a particular point, and is irresistibly demonstrative; though a person might acknowledge the force of the reasoning, without comprehending much of Christianity, or becoming one whit a better Christian."

We were here interrupted by the arrival of a visitor in the court-yard, and as I conjectured it to be Lord S., I arose to depart; "Do stay," said his lordship, "and we shall have dinner immediately, your conversation will be useful, perhaps, to Lord S." "Excuse me for the present; as you are friends, and relatives, and have not met for a long time, you must have much to say; and Lord S. is not likely to be in a humour to care about serious conversations." We then walked to the door, and as we descended the stairs, Lord B. was standing at the head, and called out, "I really wish you could convert this wild fellow of a Lord, he has as much need of it as I have." I smiled, and said, "You see my task is sufficiently heavy with you. Let us wait till we fin-

ish your conversion, and we can commence his with better spirits, and with your assistance."

Soon after this, I had occasion to ride out to a village near Lord B., to visit some people who had been injured by the falling in of a part of the road side, from under which sand had been dug. S. accompanied me, and when we had visited the people, we resolved to pay a visit to Lord B. We found him with Mr. F., who had just arrived from Germany, and was on his way to join the Greeks. Dinner was soon brought in, and there were present, Lord Byron, S., and myself, Mr. F., Count Gamba, and Dr. Bruno. The conversation was, of course, very general and only desultory: we talked about Germany, the modes of education adopted there, and the opinion of the German schools. Lord Byron then spoke of religion, and said, "he was particularly struck with a remark of Bishop Beveridge, in one of the tracts, in which he says, 'that in our best actions we sin.' Do you remember the passage?" "No," I answered, "I did not observe it." "You are a fine fellow to give me tracts for my conversion, without knowing yourself what they contain." So saying, he went into his bed-room, and brought out a tract, and read a passage quoted from Beveridge. After he had done I said, "I now remember the passage, and the doctrine it contains is sound. You know it is impossible for me to remember all I have read, or to retain in my memory what every tract which I disperse contains. It is enough to know that, though some of them might be written with more ability, they are all good. No man, who, like Bishop Beveridge, has felt and known by experience the depravity of his own heart, and compares his best actions, even his devotions, with the purity of God's law, as containing the expression of his will,—but must feel and lament that sin, more or less, pollutes the best actions of our lives."

"I am not convinced," said Lord B., "of the justice of your opinion respecting the ghost-scene in Samuel. I have been looking at the passage again, and do not see that distinction you make about the witch of Endor having been afraid when Samuel's ghost appeared, as an apparition which she did not expect." He then went for his sister's Bible, and read aloud to us all the passage. As he read it, he made no pause after the words, "she cried with a loud voice," which is done in our Bibles, and from which, I believe, Scott draws the conclusion, that these words imply that she made

some exclamation from fear. If she expected to see Samuel, or if in reality she expected to see some spirit rise at her incantations, then she was either the dupe of her own credulity, or there was more in witchcraft, as then practised, than modern philosophers are apt to admit. But if the words "she cried," implied, that she uttered an exclamation of fear at, what was to her, an unexpected apparition; then we may infer, that she was accustomed merely to use some juggling tricks and illusions, with a view of deceiving the ignorant and the credulous, for the purpose of gain.

As the point itself was not one which was of the least importance, or likely, by the discussion of it, to be useful, I did not wish it to be carried on; and after taking up the passage and reading it, I said, certainly from the manner in which Lord B. had read it, there was no room for the idea which I had thrown out,—that perhaps I was mistaken, and I would give the subject further consideration.

Lord Byron had some jokes against Dr. Bruno, whom he laughed at for having said that the head of a man will dance on the ground, after it has been separated from the body: this Bruno explained properly. S. had been saying something at the corner of the table while he was sitting next to Count G., which did not appear to be very orthodox: his lordship called out to me, "Do you hear what S. has been saying? Why, he has not advanced one step towards conversion. He is worse than I am!" Mr. F. having said something about the contradictions which appeared in the Scriptures, Lord B. said, "That is going too far; I am so much of a believer as to be of opinion, that there is no contradiction in Scripture, which cannot be reconciled by an attentive consideration and comparison of passages. What puzzles me most is the eternity of hell punishments. This I am not disposed to believe and this is the only point of difference between me and the Doctor here, who will not admit me into the pale of orthodoxy, till I can get over this point."

After several other desultory observations, the conversation again reverted to religious subjects, and I was attempting to explain that no man could seriously have any difficulty in ascertaining whether he was a real Christian or not, as he had only to compare his conduct and opinion, with what was required of him in the Bible. I was explaining the great change that must take place in worldly men, when their hearts are touched with the spirit of religion; "they have no longer," I said, "the same enjoyment in many things

which formerly gave pleasure." "Certainly," said Lord Byron, "you must except some things, and grant that some can afford enjoyment as well before conversion as after." "I do," said I; "all legitimate or lawful pleasures can be enjoyed as well after conversion as before, and even with a higher relish, since then we feel more thankfulness and gratitude to that Being who grants them to us. But," I added, "there are many sources of pleasure, and many objects of pursuit, in which worldly people indulge, that after conversion can give no further pleasure. When converted, you endeavour to practice every virtue, from a love to God, and from a sense of duty; and in doing this, the mind feels perfect happiness. All the objects of worldly ambition,—such as wealth, rank, and fame—whether as merchants, scholars, statesmen, or poets,—must be modified and corrected." "I perfectly agree with you," Lord Byron exclaimed, with respect to the profane art of poetry!" "This is not profane," I said, "if exercised with proper motives: witness such poetry as Cowper has given us, and see the principles which he inculcates, and the beauty with which he paints virtue, and reprobates vice and the many inducements he holds forth in the most vigorous poetry, for the practice of virtue and piety." Some conversation took place about Cowper's insanity, whether it was before or after conversion. I explained, that he had attempted to commit suicide before his conversion; that it was during his convalescence Dr. Madan was the means of enlightening his mind on religion; that his piety and happiness were equal, as long as he lived with the Unwins, in the same neighbourhood with Newton—that when he was engaged in writing poems, and was seized with the ambition and feelings of a mere poet, his mind became again unsettled and melancholy, and that it was to divert this, that some injudicious, but well meaning friends, urged him to the laborious task of translating Homer. Had his fame not risen as a poet during his life time, and consequently, had not his vanity and ambition been excited,—had he lived obscurely, quietly, and contentedly, as he had before for many years, in the practice of virtue, in the study and meditation of the Scriptures, and in writing such books as the 'Task,' or in composing more of his beautiful hymns,—there is reason to believe that his mind would have remained tranquil and sound. But the labour and anxiety of such a work as the translation of Homer, unsettled his delicate and gentle mind, and threw him into that state of melancholy despondency

from which he never recovered." I then reprobated the life of Cowper, as written in the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, and said, it was the most unjust and unfair of all the articles in that excellent work; and that I was often inclined, obscure as I was, to write to the distinguished editor, and urge him to have it altered, as it could not fail to give offence to every Christian reader, to every admirer of Cowper, and to every lover of truth. "Cowper," I added, "is a poet whose fame will increase with succeeding ages." His lordship dissented from me with respect to the greatness of Cowper as a poet.

The conversation turned upon the Socinians, and I was accused by some of the party of being too severe on this sect,—that my opinions were too exclusive, and narrow, and less candid and charitable in judging of others than they should be. I affirmed that this was a mistake. "That I pretended not to judge of the final and eternal state of any one, but that there were opinions and practices, which, when judged by the Bible, rendered those who held them incapable of obtaining eternal happiness; since God had declared certain characters should not enter into the kingdom of heaven. But as there was no sin too great for God to pardon, so any persons, however criminal in their conduct and opinions, might be converted, and therefore saved, even so late as the last moment of their lives. Of the worst people, therefore, as long as they live, there is hope; but surely, it is not uncharitable to suppose, and indeed, to judge from the authority of the Scriptures, that those people who continue to the end of their lives in sin, or in such damnable opinions as most of the Socinians entertain, cannot have hope of salvation, without conversion by the grace and power of God. It is no bigotry, therefore, to say, that such people, while they thus live and think, have no share in salvation. It would be a false show of candour to endeavour to hope so; we may pray for their conversion, knowing that the power of God is sufficient to accomplish what to us is hopeless or impossible. Besides," I said, "I must put you right with regard to another point, in which you are all apt to err. It is a common opinion, that a serious Christian thinks himself a better man than those who live in sin, or at least who are not so strict and attentive to religious duties as he is; thence a worldly man naturally thinks that he is puffed up with spiritual pride, and feels some indignation at the censorious judgment which he forms of others, and is offended with his pride in exalting

himself by the comparison. It is natural for an unconverted person to think and feel so, but he judges of the serious Christian in an ignorant manner. A serious Christian is the best philosopher; his mind is turned constantly to the motives of his own conduct, and the more he examines himself, the more astonished is he to find the native blackness and depravity of his own heart, and the alloy which mixes itself with his best actions and purest motives. Independently of the distinct precepts, of the Scriptures, he knows that he is not naturally a better man than the worst sinner around him. Nay, that his motives and his inclinations have been as bad, if not worse, though circumstances have prevented them from being developed: therefore he feels, that if he no longer lives in a course of sin, this is by the grace and power of God, which prevents and saves him from evil,—he is set to watch against evil, from the very consciousness of his weakness. Instead of being elated with spiritual pride, he becomes daily more humble; he ascribes everything to the mercy of God, and he has no other feeling for a sinning brother, than that of compassion, and an earnest desire to be useful to him, and to induce him to reform. Beside all this, he knows that the grace of God extends over all, and that he bestows it on whomsoever he will; he knows that the greatest sinner of his acquaintance may be arrested in his career, and may become a much holier and better Christian than himself; 'For to whom much is forgiven, the same loveth much.' These reflections, therefore, prevent a Christian from self-approbation and spiritual pride, and in proportion as he feels either the one or the other, which he may do momentarily, (as he is not perfect,) in the same proportion does he depart from Christian principles; and if a professing Christian habitually carries in his heart an idea of superiority over his sinning brother, or feels pride in consequence, he may have the form, but he has not the least of the spirit of Christianity; indeed there is more hope of an open profligate, than of him, who either deceives himself or others,—perhaps both. Let us not be called bigoted, therefore, if we judge of you and of ourselves by the Scriptures, and maintain those Scriptures from all perversion. There is no more hardness of heart and inhumanity in us who believe in the eternity of hell punishment, than in you who falsely flatter yourselves with the idea that you are very liberal and humane, in professing to believe that hell punishment is temporary. We believe what God has said. Had he said, that

after a certain time passed elsewhere, the unrepenting wicked, after due punishment, should be cleansed and raised to heaven, we would have believed it, and rejoiced in the idea: but God has said otherwise, and the will of the Christian is, to yield to the will of God. Whatever he does is right. If it depended on me, judging by mere feelings of humanity, I would have all saved. Nay, I would go further than you, —I would have no hell at all; but would pardon all, purify all, and send all to equal happiness." "Nay," exclaimed some of them, "I would not save all." "I would save," cried his lordship, "my sister and my daughter, and some of my friends,—and a few others, and let the rest shift for themselves." "And your wife also," I exclaimed. "No," he said. "But your wife, surely, you would save your wife?" "Well," he said. "I would save her too, if you like."

The conversation now turned on several subjects of a common and trivial nature, which it would be unnecessary to repeat, and shortly afterwards we took our leave. Mr. F. accompanied us part of the way, but as S. and myself were obliged to visit another of the persons who had been injured in a neighbouring village, he pursued his way to Argostoli with his guide, while S. and myself arrived there late in the evening, conversing together on the strange character, and occasionally strange conversation in which we had been engaged.

About a week after this I walked out to Metaxata, to visit Lord Byron; as I was entering the village, Count Gamba came up to me, on horseback, on his return from a ride, and told me his lordship was behind, in company with two Greek gentlemen. We entered the house, and in a few minutes Lord B. arrived, accompanied by Count Delladecima, of Cephalonia, and the celebrated Noto Botzaris, the Suliote, who since so distinguished himself as commander-in-chief of Missolonghi during the whole of its memorable siege; and who, in conjunction with Tzavellas, at the head of the Suliotes, forced his way through the army of the Turks, when the city was taken by storm. Botzaris was a fine-looking man, about fifty, and was richly dressed. His son, a smart-looking boy of fourteen, attended him; when Botzaris entered the room, his lordship said, pointing to a chair, *Καθίσετε Κυρίε*, "Sit down, sir," and then turning to me he said, "I have forgotten the little Greek I had learned." Botzaris spoke in Greek, which was interpreted by Count Delladecima, in Italian, or French, in which the others

present spoke; I never heard Lord Byron speak Greek, except the two words already mentioned. I may remark here, that he spoke Italian with great correctness, and purity, and with a pronunciation which differed little from that of a native. He spoke French also well, but he disliked the language, as well as the literature of that nation, as I heard him once say. The conversation turned on various subjects, but chiefly on the affairs of Greece; this was continued during dinner, which was shortly afterwards brought in. His lordship wished young Botzaris to sit down at table with us, but this the father would not permit, so the boy was consigned to the care of Fletcher. It is probable that the latter treated him with more wine than he was accustomed to drink, for after dinner, when he returned to the room, the young mountaineer entered with a lofty and erect air, which he retained, while his lordship was putting some questions to him. Lord Byron seemed much pleased with his noble bearing, and remarked to me, "That young spark, I fancy, would hold you and me in utter contempt, because we might have some compunctions in shooting a Turk, which to him would be an object of great delight, if he met him in a fit and safe situation on his native mountains."

Shortly after dinner, Botzaris and Count Delladecima rose in order to return to Argostoli. In taking leave, Botzaris approached his lordship, and thanked him in his own name, and in that of the Greek nation, for the interest he took in their welfare, and the aid which his name and efforts would give to their sacred cause. He mentioned the eager desire which he and all his countrymen had to see his lordship in Greece, and the eternal gratitude the whole nation would always entertain for so great and noble a benefactor. The Count Delladecima interpreted the speech in Italian, to which his lordship made a short but suitable reply, which, while the Count was interpreting to Botzaris, Lord Byron turned to me, and said, "These Greeks are excellent flatterers. I do not believe they care one farthing about me personally, though they would be very glad to get my money."

They then departed, and Lord Byron and I sat down to the table, and had a conversation which lasted till sunset. I asked him when he intended to set off for Greece, he said, "he had not fixed the day yet, though he was making preparation for it, and must set off shortly." I again expressed my regret that he was obliged to go, as I was afraid the scenes

he would have there to enter into, would not contribute much to his health, or comfort, and that he would soon lose all relish and desire to prosecute the study of religion. He said, "that he was bound to go, that he would prefer staying, but that public duty, as well as what was expected from him, must force him to go. Besides," he said, "I love the cause of liberty, which is that of the Greek nation, although I despise the present race of the Greeks, even while I pity them, I do not believe they are better than the Turks, nay I believe that in many respects the Turks surpass them; and as for their being Christians, I do not know if there is much difference between the parties." "Then," I said, "I see your lordship is like others, a slave of circumstances. You do not so much live for yourself, as you live according to what others expect you should do." "It is true," he said, "there is a chain which binds us all, high and low, and our inclination and will must bend to the circumstances of our situation. However," he said, "if I find I cannot do any good in allaying the animosities, and restoring some degree of unanimity to the contending parties, I shall not stay long in Greece; and after spending some money, and making some efforts, by my presence, to restore the public tranquillity, I shall have done all that can be expected from me, and shall then retire to some spot and lead a tranquil life." I said, "I doubted if that would be the result; when your lordship is in the midst of the game, you will feel the same excitement as others, and the more so, as the stake at hazard is so important; and besides, your name and influence will be of too much importance to allow you to stand neutral, or even to permit you to judge with coolness. Some of the most cunning and dexterous of the parties will, by some means or other, gain you to their side, and then your lordship will become interested in the cause as a party, and your own pride will prevent you from getting out of the trammels, into which circumstances will lead you." "I know well," he said, "that some of them will find out my weak side, but we must do the best we can, and if we fail, we shall get the praise of having had good intentions."

"Do you know," he said, "I am nearly reconciled to St. Paul, for he says, there is no difference between the Jews and the Greeks, and I am exactly of the same opinion, for the character of both is equally vile." "This," I answered, "is not St. Paul's idea when he mentions, that there is no difference between the Jews and the Greeks. He means

that God will pay no respect to the one, more than the other; that the Jew has no claim because he is a Jew, which the nation was apt to be proud of; but that the Greek would be as well received, if he embraced the Gospel as the Jew. But you mentioned this idea when you were dining at N's. and I have heard that the conversation was of such a nature, and so gross, and licentious, about women and priests, that a married gentleman who was present was quite shocked, and nothing but the respect which he had for you and his host prevented him from leaving the room." "This is not fair," he said, "in B. to say so. Our conversation was not so bad, and besides, N. was much worse than I was." I said, "I did not know which was worst, but that it was a thing much to be lamented, to see men of such high rank and talents, not only so degrade themselves, but set such a bad example to others."

"You must not despair of my conversion," he said, "for all that, for you admit that I am a patient hearer; that I advanced in my belief much farther than ———, and that my writings are not so bad as are generally apprehended, nor so gross as other satirists,—such as Juvenal, and even Pope." I said, "I believe this must be admitted, but to a certain extent only; for the ancient satirists had an excuse in the gross manners and ignorance of the age, which your lordship has not; and as for Pope, admitting his language to be more gross than that of your lordship, yet Pope, while he was lashing the vices, never failed to praise the virtues. But your lordship may be said to do the one, while you seldom, if ever do the other, as far as I recollect; and though your language may not be so gross, the poison of licentiousness may be as dangerous, if not more so, in smooth, as in grosser language. But the worst things objected to your lordship, are the appearance of infidelity, and doubt of the Christian religion, which appear in your writings." "Have you asked D." he said, "in what paper the account of the man is, who committed suicide after reading Cain?" I said, "I had, but that he could not remember the paper, though he assured me he had not the least doubt of having read it." "I wish very much," he said, "to see the paper; I was looking lately at the Examiner, and the accounts of the trial in which the editors of the Liberal are engaged."

"I am astonished how your lordship associated with such a set (*i. e.* the writers in the Liberal). H., it must be admitted, is a man of talent, both as a poet and as a writer of

prose; but he is an open and professed infidel; and when the public see your lordship connected with such people, giving them your poems,—attacking, not only the individual statesman, with such extraordinary language, but also the king himself, whose person and character ought, both by law and scripture, to be sacred; you must certainly excuse the public from believing, that as your lordship entertains the same political sentiments, you entertain also the same principles of infidelity.” “Even here,” he said, “I am more hardly judged and dealt with, than I should be. I assure you, my connexion with these people originated from humanity. I found H. in Italy, with a large family, in circumstances which claimed my compassion. I gave him as much money as I could spare, and when I had no more to spare, I gave him some loose poems which I had by me, that he might make some money of them.” “You have certainly had a strange reward for your humanity.” I replied. “But the public only knows that there is a connexion, and that apparently an intimate one, and it has judged accordingly. But,” I said, “why not break off such a connexion. If you think with H. in all points of religion and politics, you do only what your conscience dictates in being his associate; but if you do not, why should you allow your character to be blackened without the least necessity, and when you could so easily prevent it. The sooner you do this the better. H. has set himself, not only against the church, but against all professors of religion. He is busy attacking the ceremonies of the Church, and he thinks he shall shake it, by collecting all the errors and crimes of some unfortunate men who are its ministers; while he says nothing of those who adorn it by their example and conduct. Every man must admit and regret, that amidst so many clergymen, there are some who are unworthy of the character. H. has been lavish in the praise of a book called Paul against Jesus; in which he insinuates that Paul was not an inspired follower or Apostle of Christ, but that he was some sort of intruder, and delivered doctrines contrary to that of his Master, and contradicted himself in the account of his conversion.” “Have you seen the book,” inquired his lordship. “No,” I replied, “I have not; but whatever it is, it could be satisfactorily refuted; and I mention it only to shew its character. He is also occupied in ridiculing Mr. Irving, who certainly, according to the extracts given from his writings, seems to deserve a little, from

the affectation of his style and manner, and the too theatrical exhibition he makes in the pulpit; and above all, for the gross impropriety of mixing politics with his sermons.” “Well,” said his lordship, “I must do H. the justice to say, that he is sincere and conscientious in his opinions, that he would look down upon both you and me with contempt, as men not sufficiently enlightened to perceive the truth. He conscientiously believes what he says.” “He has,” I rejoined, “as much right to think for himself as others, but he is not able to discern the truth, either in politics or religion, and his preconceived opinions prevent him from judging rightly, or reasoning fairly. He represents Christians as credulous, simple, or fanatics; his eyes are open to their faults and shut to their virtues, and he represents orthodox believers, as a sort of sect which has just arisen to disturb the peace of society, and oppose the confirmed opinion of enlightened and educated men. There must be a bitterness and enmity of heart against the system, which blinds his judgment, otherwise he must know that Christianity is 1800 years old, and that the sect of Freethinkers is an innovation upon it. He certainly takes great liberties, but this is I suppose in consistency with his Radical creed; he makes very free with your lordship; many years ago when I first saw his poem of ‘*Rimini*,’ I wondered at his vanity, or his radicalism, in accosting you with the address of ‘*My dear Byron*.’” Here his lordship smiled. “I pay,” I said, “no blind respect to rank, or name by itself, nor can any philosopher do so; but established as society is, I conceive that no independent mind will improperly step out of his own rank, and station, for if he interferes with that of others, he exposes himself to be kicked down to his own place with contempt, or retains, by the tolerance of others, what is not properly his due. I ascribed this to vanity then, but it may be simply the point of radicalism, which sees no difference between a peer and the printer of a public paper, who is an infidel; and your lordship has a foretaste of what your associates will do. If they cannot raise themselves up to you they will bring you down to them. In the same manner the Whigs have degraded themselves and their cause, by befriending these radicals. I do not understand how a nobleman who derives his distinction from the Crown, can unite himself with such people; and however philosophically some may affect to look on the distinction derived from titles I suspect nobody despises it, except those who have it not;

and this alone independently of other circumstances, has surprised me, that your lordship has united yourself with such people; you cannot be a Radical in your heart."

"No; I am not," he said, "all I have done is to expose the errors and vices of the great, in order that it might lead to their amendment. And as to H., I respect him as a man of talent and sincerity, though I am far from agreeing with him in all things and I cannot desert him now that he is in trouble on my account. But continued his lordship, "you must concede, that he has just ground for inveighing against the abuses both of Church and State. There are too many in both, for an honest man to witness and remain silent, and if he write at all he must write what is the truth. How many fox-hunting, card-playing, and dancing, and fiddling persons have I known, and some who do still worse; and look how the immense revenues of the Church are squandered on a few, while the bulk remain oppressed by poverty. Surely you must wish to see them reformed. Lady B.," he continued, "has just written to me, to ask my presentation of a church to a person who is not well fitted, in my opinion, for the charge, as he is too much a man of the world. The presentation, in fact, belongs to her, and not to me, although she has politely asked me, as if it depended on my will. I have written to her that certainly the person might have it if she pleased."

I replied, "I should be glad to see these abuses remedied, and I believe most sober Christians would. But when Radicals, and Infidels, take this reformation in hand, the abuses are likely to be perpetuated, for all honest men will prefer that matters should stand as they are, rather than join themselves with Radicals, who would be very glad to see the Church quite pulled down, and who have, it may be presumed, no wish to see another built in its stead."

"I respect," said Lord B., "every faithful minister of the Church, who honestly and fairly does the duty for which he is paid,—but I cannot value their Christian charity, and humility, when so many of them inveigh against me from their pulpits."

"I blame every clergyman," I replied, "who would notice you particularly from the pulpit, but it may be pleaded in their behalf, that, it is from sorrow and pity they blame you, from a wish to see you reformed, and from apprehension of the consequences which your example and influence may produce on others; and, should you reform, the

delight they would feel would prove to you that it was not rancour nor censoriousness which dictated the expression of their regrets or reproaches."

"Have you seen the *Quarterly Review*?" he asked: "I do not think I am so well treated there as by Jeffrey. The article, I believe, is written by Heber; I was indulgently treated by Gifford. He was very kind to me, and as long as he has the management of the *Review*, I may hope for a continuance of kindness." I said, "I had seen it, and that I thought all the literary publications treated him with unusual gentleness, in hope of his reformation, and from respect to his high talents." I added, "This is indeed the best way, as a contrary method would only tend to irritate your pride, and make you worse—not better. I must not, however, omit to state a cause for this gentleness. The men who conduct these *Reviews* have not so deep a sense of religion as the clergymen who attack you. They see less harm in your freethinking principles, in your infidelity, and in your want of religion."

"The '*Quarterly*,' it is true, staunchly stands up for the Church as it is, and, it must be confessed, deserves praise for a higher tone of religion and morality than the '*Edinburgh*;' this I apprehend, however, proceeds more from policy than sentiment. But from whatever motive it may proceed, it deserves praise, and I am pleased to see that it is a greater favourite with all good men than the *Edinburgh*. Had the *Edinburgh* united to the extraordinary talents, which the early writers of that work displayed, a proper sense of religion, it would have continued unexampled in celebrity and influence; but it justly lost both, by the foolish and boyish admiration which it invariably expressed for French infidel literature, by its unbounded admiration for our own infidel authors, and by the attacks which it directly or indirectly made upon Christians, such as appear in their review of *Missions in the East*. They have given cause for suspicion of their orthodoxy, and their writings, together with the circumstance that so many of our English modern reformers, and Radicals are infidels, or indifferent to religion, have tended to bring even the genuine principles of Whigs, which I believe they sincerely profess and act upon, into contempt and disrepute. In political economy, and in literary and scientific criticism, they continue unrivalled; in historical criticism, and religious feeling, they are far inferior to the *Quarterly*."

I then inquired whether he had looked into my paper on the doctrine of eternal punishments. "No," he said, "I must confess I have not,—something or other always comes in the way; but that, and the other books, I intend to peruse diligently, though I fear I shall not have time to do so before I go to Greece; but I shall take care to send them all to you before I go, whether I read them or not."

"You need not do that," I replied. "On the contrary, I wish you to take them with you. Though the Bible is the best book, and deserves chiefly to be studied, yet those few I have sent may not be without some use; and when your lordship has perused them, and has no further occasion for them, you can give them to others, as there are few religious books in this part of the world. I have also brought you another book, which I should be glad that you would peruse,—it is Jones on the Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity. You will find here, that the doctrine of three persons in one Godhead is as unequivocally and as distinctly revealed as any other doctrine, and must be received, whatever difficulties may arise to an inquisitive and speculative mind. I have brought it, because I understand that your lordship has misunderstood me in what I formerly said about the Trinity,—either because I expressed myself obscurely, or from your want of familiarity with the subject. I should be sorry that you should suppose any doctrine of religion which I believed was new, or peculiar to myself. I believe precisely what all the Protestant Churches believe, and what every sound-minded Christian of every denomination believes. There are no discoveries to be made in religion: all the improvement must be in an increase of piety, charity, brotherly love, and in a correction of every abuse,—whether arising from speculative opinions, or external discipline and human ceremonies, which time or ignorance have introduced into the public devotion of Christians. In this book, which your lordship can study with advantage, at your leisure, you will find what I, with all real Christians, believe, on this prime and fundamental doctrine of Christianity."

Lord B. took the book and said, he would deliberately read it. "But," added he, "I do not remember that I said to any one that I did not understand your doctrine of the Trinity, or believed it to be peculiar." "Yes, you did," I replied; "but as you perhaps, said so inadvertently, it will be sufficient if you examine the subject as you find it here,—comparing, if you please, each verse with your Bible."

"Do you continue to read your Bible?" I asked. "I do,"

he said, "every day." "Do you add prayer to it?" "No," he said, "I am not so far advanced; and, as I said before, you must give me time."

"Well," I said, "we must be contented, and hope for the best; but it is singular that people should be so ashamed to pray to their Creator and Preserver, since it is a duty which even natural religion teaches, and one without which no one can understand the Scriptures. If men were convinced of their own sinfulness and of their need of a Saviour, not a moment would be lost till it had been ascertained whether or not the Christ revealed in the Scriptures is the Saviour. Delay is dangerous. No person knows when death may arrest him, and call him before the throne of his Judge. I have sent your lordship Erskine's work on the Internal Evidences of Religion. I had not an English copy; I have therefore sent you a French one, translated, it is said, by the Duchess de Broglie." "I read it," said his lordship, "some time ago, and I think it very good, as far as it goes."

"I would advise your lordship," added I, "when you study your Bible, to get some good commentary to read with it; such for example, as Scott's. I do not mean that you should believe, or receive without examination, what any commentator says; for, however pious and learned, a commentator is not inspired, and many therefore err. Unfortunately, many people study religion only as a science, and examine it with all the faculties of their mind, while their heart is little affected. Were it a mere system of philosophy, this might be well; but it is a matter of life and death,—of eternal salvation or misery; and every one should study the subject with a deep and constant feeling of this great truth. Your lordship confesses that you are not happy, from the want of having your opinions on religion fixed. You say you wish to be convinced of the truth of what orthodox Christians believe,—you are ready to hear and read what they say. Take care, then, if you value your own salvation, that you act upon these feelings, and while life is preserved, lose no time."

"I have had letters from England," said Lord B., "which mention that Ada has been unwell,—she is now better. Her complaint was a determination of blood to the head: what is the cause of it at her age?" "This depends on various causes, and I could not pretend to judge what the cause is in her case, unless I saw her," "Do you asked he, "think that such a complaint is habitual?" "No, it is not necessarily so," I replied. "It is curious," he answered, "that it is a complaint to which I myself am subject."

"I could easily suppose so," I said, "from your mode of life, and habits of study,—irregular, but intense; and I think I could have inferred so from the state of your eyes. Your right eye appears inflamed." "That is from having read a good deal of late;" but it will easily be removed, when, I remove the cause. Ada," he continued, "is, I understand, very fond of reading. She lies on the sofa great part of the day reading, and displays, perhaps, a premature strength of mind and quickness of understanding." "I hope," I rejoined, "that her inclination for acquiring knowledge will not be pushed too far, to the injury of her health, or even to the exhaustion of her intellectual powers, as is too often done by foolish and fond parents,"

"I hope not," said Lord B.; "and I am sure that I can rely on Lady B.'s judgment and discretion*."

"Do you know, my Lord," I said, "that I hope ere long to see the day when your lordship will again be united to Lady B., and enjoy all the happiness of domestic life instead of following your present wandering and unsettled state, so unsuitable to one of your rank and station."

"What makes you think so? Have you had any private information?" asked Lord B. "No," I replied; "I judge from circumstances, which I will mention, if they are not likely to offend your lordship."

"By all means, tell me what they are." "I judge from the style in which you spoke of Lady B.,—when we were talking of whom we would save, at a former conversation,—that your affection for her is not extinguished by absence, nor by all that has happened; that, in fact, she is not indifferent to you."

"If I said anything disrespectful of Lady B., I am very much to blame. Lady B. deserves every respect from me, and certainly nothing could give me greater pleasure than a reconciliation."

"With such sentiments, how is it possible that a separation has taken place, or how is it that a reunion cannot be effected? Under such circumstances, neither you nor she can be happy; and the cause must be singular, which two persons of such rank and understanding cannot find out and remove."

* One day Colonel D. rode out with Lord Byron, when an infant from fright fell; Lord B. got off his horse with great anxiety, and, raising it took it to his arms: it was a soldier's child. He said in a hurried manner, "I cannot bear to look at an English child, I am so reminded of my own, whom I have not seen for a long time."

"I do not indeed know the cause of separation," said Lord B. "I know that many falsehoods have been spread abroad, such as my bringing actresses to my house,—but they were all false. Lady B. left me without explaining the cause. I sent Hobhouse to her, who almost went on his knees,—but in vain; and at length I wished to institute an action against her, that it might be seen what were her motives."

"Perhaps," I said, "Lady B. is to be commended. No wife, from motives, of delicacy, would like the public to be acquainted with the causes of her sorrow and grief, in circumstances where her husband was concerned; and if she acted under misapprehension, or bad influence, it was your lordship's duty to have acted in such a way as in time to remove this."

"What could I have done? I did everything at the time that could be done, and I am, and have always been, ready for a reconciliation." "I think your lordship could have done many things, and some of them better than you did. In the first place, it was wrong to give such publicity to a domestic misunderstanding, by poems, however beautiful and pathetic; but before I tell you what you might have done, let me ask you what would you not have done, when you were paying your addresses to Lady B.? Would any task have appeared too severe for you? Would you not have compassed sea and land, and gone to the uttermost parts of the earth, in order to obtain her hand?" "I would," said his lordship. "Well, and how is it that you cannot do the same to regain the suspended affections of one who is dearer, as she is nearer, than she ever was when you were her lover,—of your wife, and the mother of your child? Instead of leaving your country in a pet, and living retiredly in a country so grossly immoral as Italy, and thus affording just grounds to Lady B. and others, for suspecting the purity of your manners, and at least furnishing strong grounds for the tales (calumnies they may be) which were spread against you,—could you not have remained in England where your conduct would have been open to her inspection? Could you not have taken up your abode near her, in whatever place she moved to, and so lived as to satisfy her in time, and compel her to acknowledge that she had wronged you, and that she had acted from misapprehension?" His lordship smiled, and said, "All this is very fine,—but it would have had no effect. Everything was done that could be reasonably done, and it was unsuccessful; and I have re-

mained, and I shall always remain, ready for reconciliation with Lady B., whenever circumstances open and point out the way to it."

Talking of Count Gamba and of Dr. Bruno, he praised them both. He said, "the former wrote Italian with elegance, and Bruno would become distinguished in his profession. He judged so, because he had so much enthusiasm for it; as he never knew any one arrive at eminence in any thing, unless he had an enthusiasm for it."

We again adverted to religious subjects, and I expressed my hope that his lordship would fix his attention on them more than he had ever done, as they concerned him more deeply than the fame of poetry, or the still more noble object he had in view—the assistance he was about to give to an oppressed nation. "I have endeavoured," I said, "to do my duty. I have spoken plainly and sincerely, because I felt for your situation,—a feeling increased by the honour you have conferred on me, and your desire to hear me, and the patience you have exhibited. If I have failed in the respect due to you, forgive it. I have perhaps, pressed the matter too eagerly, but this proceeded from my desire for your welfare; from the impression of not having other opportunities, and from the fear that these are subjects which, situated as you are, you will not be often annoyed with."

Lord B. said, "he considered himself obliged to me for what I had done; for the sincerity with which I had spoken, and for the evident interest I had shewn for what I considered his danger. I am satisfied," he said, "that you are not animated by the desire merely of making a noble convert. I have had too much reason to distrust the motives of those who wished to convert me, nor am I inclined to rely much on the sincerity of flaming professors, whose zeal might well enough be ascribed to popular ambition or applause, and the delight they have in becoming the leaders of the fanatic or the vulgar, such as Wesley or Whitfield,—whose motives may, in some degree at least, be justly suspected."

I said, "While I am grateful to your lordship for this good opinion of me, it is proper to say, that in neither case do you reason fairly. For aught that you know, I am but waiting a proper opportunity of playing what you call the same part as Wesley or Whitfield, and either circumstances, or want of ability, may prevent me. It cannot, surely be a proof against piety and virtue, that good arises to those who prac-

tice both,—or that, when these are displayed in an eminent degree, the admiration of others follow them, and a just celebrity attends them. This is a connexion as strict and certain, as that pain or punishment invariably follows sin and guilt.”

“It may be so,” replied Lord B., “but I judge you to be sincere, and not actuated by ambitious motives, while I see you contented, and happy, and using no means which others in your situation would have done, to raise yourself into public notice, from motives of ambition, and vain-glory.”

“Has your lordship seen the life of Wesley, by Southey?”
“No, I have not; have you?” “No, but I should like to see how he represents the character of Wesley. Though Southey is a man who believes in Christianity, and is what the world calls a good man, I doubt whether he is able to comprehend some parts of Wesley’s conduct, which to a mere scholar must appear fanatical. I understand from some, who have seen the work, that it is much better than was to have been expected, which is highly creditable to Southey, though still I do not believe that he is capable of doing justice to the Methodists. I am not a Methodist myself, nor have I been in their chapels, but I have a high respect for this zealous body, and though they are the most despised of all the Christian denominations, yet there is reason to believe that they are the best Christians, since they have been the means of doing so much good. I think Wesley one of the worst divines, in many doctrinal points, though he was certainly a man of ability; but that he was substantially a sound Christian, must be willingly granted; and what is extraordinary, his zeal for God, his unexampled industry, labour, self-denial, and charity, have raised him to a higher rank, which he will maintain, than any bishop, or indeed any divine, that England has ever produced.

“I believe that the methodists erred in their relations of too wonderful conversions, nor was the distinction made between the effects of the powerful preaching of the Gospel on the bodily frame, and the real and permanent affection of the hearer by the power of God; but these circumstances no longer attend the preaching of this body of Christians, whose labours extend to all corners of the globe, and to people whom other Christians had overlooked. Wesley, I think, was much inferior to Whitfield, though he has been more fortunate in obtaining a higher fame.

“I was once dining with a gentleman, who after dinner

rather unexpectedly asked, 'What are the grounds on which you 'New Lights' believe that you are influenced by the Holy Spirit, and what is the evidence by which you convince others, who have never felt such an influence, that you are possessed of it?'"

"Well," said Lord Byron, "this was a sensible and pertinent question; what answer did you make?" "We had a long conversation on the subject, and many things were said on both sides, which I do not now recollect."

"But did you convince him?" "No," I replied, "it is not so easy to convince people on such points." "I should, however, like to know what answers you *could* make to such a question."

"To one who knows the Scriptures, and has felt their power, the answer would be easy and satisfactory: but to those who do not believe, no answer, however demonstrative, can be satisfactory. It is as though one were to talk of colours to a man born blind; or to expect that a man who has no musical ear should derive pleasure from a succession of sweet sounds. A sober friend of mine one day gave me his opinion of religious people. 'In my opinion,' he said, 'religion is like any other thing. Some are attached to it, because they have a taste for it; others care nothing about it, merely because they have no taste for it; as one man has a taste for music and another has not; therefore, let everybody follow his own taste, and not to trouble those who have no sympathy with it.' Another gentleman gave it as his opinion, that the serious people called 'Blue Lights,' 'Saints,' and 'Metho-dist,' were in general of weak and timid minds, who required something to allay their superstitious fears respecting a futurity."

"Well, but what answer have you to make to the question proposed?" "The answer is two-fold. The Scriptures reveal a person of the Deity, called the Holy Spirit of God, the Comforter. We find this Spirit in various parts of the Scripture called God, and performing the works of God; Creation is ascribed to him. The Apostles and Prophets wrote as inspired by Him. The whole name and attributes of the Godhead are applied to Him. In John iii., which I formerly read to you, regeneration is declared to be the work of the Spirit; and sanctification is also His work, going on towards perfection, until a man enters into the glorified state. Therefore, though many cannot know the exact period of their conversion, and in others it appears more im-

mediate, yet there are few but must be aware of the fact, that a change has taken place in their conduct, feelings, principles of action, and affections, which, while it includes moral reformation, comprehends something greater. This change they feel not to have been brought about by themselves; not to be the result of good resolutions, nor of moral suasion, nor of satiety in sin, nor from the mere love of virtue for its own sake; taught by the Scriptures, they refer it to the Holy Spirit. Hence they have an evidence within themselves that they have been influenced by the Holy Spirit. This influence acts always in concurrence with reason, and never against it. Though this evidence is satisfactory in itself, it is confirmed by the fact, that real Christians in every age, of every sect, have given their testimony of having experienced the same supernatural operations.

“To the second part of the question, ‘what evidence is there to convince others who have never felt it?’ the answer is equally obvious. 1st. The evidence of Scripture; 2nd. The evidence of real Christians, who are unanimous in bearing the same testimony; and 3rd. The conduct of those Christians, which is consistent with their professions. A man may set aside the first evidence as being of no weight; the second he may ascribe to mental weakness, superstition, and delusion; and the third he may deny as proving nothing but what may arise from mere moral reformation. That those who have never felt the influence of regeneration on their own minds may reason thus is too often exemplified, and is much to be lamented; but the question arises, ‘Do they, in these conclusions, act upon those sound principles of philosophical and logical reasoning which they profess to know, better than those whom they ridicule?’ Now I apprehend that, so far from doing so, they violate them all. First, they doubt the existence of a feeling, because *they* never experienced it. Secondly, they coolly reject the united testimony of Christians of every age, sect, condition, degree of talents and accomplishments, who must, in their opinion, have perjured themselves on this point, or at least have been deceived. But the evidence of these persons they will receive on every other subject except religion; and on what principle of human nature can they account for a deception so uniform and similar, among so many whose ages, education, habits of thinking, and acquirements in other respects are so different? such evidence would be decisive on every other point, and would be by all acknowledged. Why is it rejected? Simply, because those who reject it have never

felt this power in religion; they confess that they have it not: but do they reason logically, when they deny that this power has been felt by others, who assert that they have felt it?

“The result is, many people say they have felt this influence: others deny it, because they have never felt it. The integrity of the parties being equal, upon the plainest rule of logic, the affirmative evidence must prevail over the negative, unless, which is not yet done, causes of error and deception in the affirmative be demonstrated. Thus, treating it as a mere subject of reasoning, the evidence is sufficient in itself to satisfy every candid and impartial mind; and when to this is added the express testimony of Scripture, we must indeed be destitute of reason to hesitate one moment which party is in the right. Real Christians could do more; they could show that their opponents are incapable of judging on the subject, and that their minds are clouded by prejudice, contempt, and enmity: while all the ingenuity of these opponents cannot, on any principle of reasoning, solve the singular phenomenon of such a series of uniform yet varied testimony.

“We do not expect that they will be convinced by our argument, but we can point out to them the means by which their judgment can be enlightened, and their prejudices removed. We can refer them to God the Creator, Christ the Saviour, and the Holy Spirit, the Comforter and Sanctifier, whose operations on their heart will enable them to see the truth, which is now hid from them, and whose enlightening influences are invariably given to every one who will properly use the means.”

We then began to talk on other subjects, and at last poetry was talked of. I said, “A lady in Argostoli had expressed to me, how much it is to be regretted that your lordship has not chosen some other subjects for your works, especially for some of your tragedies. She thinks that the scene of a tragedy laid in Babylon during the Jews’ captivity there, would give full and irreproachable scope for all your powers.”

“I am tired of tragedies, having so completely failed in them, as they say; but does the lady you allude to write poetry?” I said, “She wrote a little for her own amusement, and as the subject I had just mentioned had struck her, she had amused herself by sketching out a few scenes, till it occurred to her that it would be an excellent subject for your lordship, and draw you from others which might afford room for objection.”

"Bring it," said his lordship, "and shew me what the lady has written, and I shall consider the subject, and whether I engage in it or not, I shall feel obliged if you can allow me to look at it." I said, "I was not sure that I could succeed; but if it was in my power, I would bring it the next time I came."

Some days afterwards, I called upon the Resident, and found Lord B. there; a glass of brandy was on the table untouched, brought, I suppose, for his lordship, as he had come in from the country, and the day was rainy. A gentleman in a few moments after entered, he had come from the Castle (Fort St. George), another glass was brought for him, which he took. Lord B. begged me to observe, that he had not taken any brandy, as it was still untouched on the table. The conversation was desultory, but it soon turned on an officer, who was said to have been converted to the truth, and whose conduct, an individual present deemed to be inconsistent with his principles, and he mentioned some things which he had done. I begged them to consider dates, and stated, that I had access to know that these things were done before the gentleman alluded to had become religious; that since that time, his conduct was irreproachable, except, perhaps, in too assiduous attention to, and courting of his superiors, —a fault, I said, which would also in time be removed.

"I am sorry," said Lord B., "to hear of this failure in one of your converts: it will throw me ten years back in mine." "A proof," I replied, "that your lordship's conversion is not yet begun; for if it was, no real or alleged failure would ever affect your opinions unless to excite a regret for those who could not adhere to the principles they profess."

About this time Lord B. was busy preparing all things for his departure; having hired two small vessels, he sent his things to Argostoli, and left his house at Metaxata. I met him as I was walking, coming into town, attended by a Suliote, who was also on horseback. He took up his residence at an English gentleman's house. Next day Count Gamba called upon me, and after some conversation, requested a French Bible. While he was with me, a servant came to say that the vessel in which they were to embark was ready to sail, and waited only for him. He arose, and I accompanied him; and as he had already taken leave of Lord B., he embarked at once, with the Bible in one hand, and an eye-glass in the other. I then went to take leave of Lord B., who, with his physician, was to embark in a smaller vessel that

same afternoon. I found him alone, reading *Quentin Durward*. He was, as usual, in good spirits. I said, "I am sorry that your lordship is at last to leave us, though it is pleasing to reflect that you are going to engage in so good a cause. I hope that you may be blessed with good health, that you may be the means of doing much good, above all, that you will prosecute the study of the sacred Scriptures as you have promised."

Lord B. thanked me, and said, "he would do his best in assisting the Greeks, and that his inclination would lead him to continue the investigation of the subjects about which we had conversed. I have taken," he said, "all your books with me, which I shall peruse carefully; I feel some reluctance in depriving you of them." "Think nothing of that. So far from wishing them returned, I have a box of other books ready for you, which I would have sent now, but I thought you would be too much engaged, and would have so many things to carry with you; I have therefore deferred it for the present; I shall, however, send them by the first opportunity to Missolonghi." "Do so," said Lord B. "I shall dispose of them prudently; and in everything in which you think me likely to be of any use in promoting education and useful knowledge among the unfortunate and ignorant Greeks, you may always rely on me."

Here the gentleman of the house entered, with Dr. Bruno. "Is Gamba gone?" asked Lord B. "He is," replied one of them, "He has carried with him all my money. Where is Fletcher?" One of them answered he did not know. "Send some one after him, we must embark immediately; send down to the mess-house, you will probably find him there, taking a parting glass with some of his cronies."

"If your lordship wants any money," said the gentleman of the house, "I can supply you with whatever sum you please." "I thank you," said Lord B.; "I believe I shall have enough till I reach Zante." He then went into the next room, and soon returned with fifteen dollars, which he presented to me. "Take them," said he, "as a very small donation from me to the school for Greek females which Mrs. K. is establishing, as a mark of my approbation and sincere good wishes for the success of so useful an institution.*"

* Many others had subscribed very liberally to this little establishment: Lord Guildford gave twenty dollars annually; the Lord High Commissioner gave the same. The Resident, Colonel N., has acted with great generosity, and under his patronage, it is confidently hoped

I thanked him, and said, "that some of the ladies had requested me to ask his lordship's assistance, which I declined, knowing the many claims and applications which had been, and would yet be made upon his generosity."

"The ladies did right, and you did wrong," said Lord B.; "for I should at any time be ready to lend my aid, however small, to such useful institutions." I shook hands with him, and he said, "I shall write to you, and give you an account of my proceedings in assisting Stanhope in establishing schools, and in forwarding the moral and religious improvement of the Greeks."

I answered, "I shall always esteem it an honour to hear from your lordship. From what has occurred, I shall ever feel a warm interest and anxiety in whatever concerns you, especially till such time as I hear that you have arrived at that point of religious knowledge and improvement, towards which I have, in our conversations, been desirous of leading you. You have complained that many, who professed themselves strict Christians, have inveighed against you. Be assured that there is one at least who will not do so, but who will on the contrary, always pray for your welfare, particularly for that of your soul."

"I shall always feel myself indebted to you," said Lord B. We again shook hands, and departed, never to see each other more.

Lord B. embarked the same evening. Next day his vessels touched at Zante. After leaving this island they were separated, and during the night, that in which Lord B. sailed came close upon a Turkish vessel, but escaped to one of the Strophades; and after a few days, he arrived at Missolonghi, and was received by the Greeks with every demonstration of honour, and with universal enthusiasm*.

Count Gamba was not so fortunate. He was taken by a Turkish frigate, and the lives of the crew were in some danger, till the Captain of the Turkish vessel discovered in the

that this school, which after Mrs. K's departure sunk into a temporary abeyance, will again flourish. The ladies of Edinburgh have instituted a Society for the promotion of Female Education among the Greeks, and a governess has left England for Corfu. It is ardently hoped that the English ladies will not be backward in giving their aid to so benevolent an undertaking. The Lord High Commissioner has entered with great kindness into the plan, and has held out every prospect of encouragement.—1830.

* See Appendix—Count G.'s letter.

person of Spiro Valsimachi (Count G.'s Captain), one who had preserved his life when shipwrecked in the Black Sea. They were detained a few days at Patras, and were hospitably treated by the Pasha, and were then liberated, and rejoined Lord Byron at Missolonghi*.

His lordship was now engaged in a new scene. His rank, his talents, his wealth, and influence, naturally made him an object of much importance to the Greeks, and his time was completely occupied in doing all the good he could among this turbulent and thoughtless people. His stedfast object was to promote an union among all parties; to organize a corps of artillery, fortify Missolonghi, and, at last, prepare for an attack on Lepanto; which, from circumstances, appeared likely to be taken by assault without much difficulty. He had occasion to send some of the English officers repeatedly to Cephalonia, both for warlike stores, and for part of his baggage, which he had left behind. From them we had opportunities of learning how matters were going on. All were unanimous in their praises of Lord B., and of his incessant efforts to do something among the Greeks, whose discord, selfishness, and supine thoughtlessness, they as uniformly censured.

Colonel Stanhope addressed two letters to me, which will be seen in the Appendix. This gentleman's constant attention to the promotion of education is well known, and deserves every commendation. I received, also, two letters from Count Gamba written with a view of gaining the assistance of my friend, Professor Bambas, for the Greek Chronicle.

I told Bambas that the patriots of Missolonghi were desirous that he should furnish them with something from his pen, to promote the cause of liberty, and that he might have his own price.

"Tell his lordship," said this true patriot, "that the efforts of my pen will, as a matter of course, be at the service of my oppressed country. It would be base in me to take money for any of my labours for her good; they are due from me

* Their papers or manifestoes were not taken out for Missolonghi, or they would have fallen inevitable victims to Turkish policy, for the Turks would not have tolerated any who were about to enter an hostile town. As it was, Jusuf Pasha felt some degree of difficulty in releasing them. This Count D. related, and the Captain also, to Dr. K.

to her; or, indeed, to any country similarly situated, and struggling nobly for her freedom.*

The second letter was to request my consent to take under my own charge and that of Mrs. K., a young Turkish girl whom his lordship, from feelings of humanity, had resolved to educate as a companion to his daughter, if it met with Lady B.'s approbation; and in the mean time he was to write to his sister, the Honourable Mrs. Leigh; and at all events, he promised to provide for her respectably.

To this we readily consented. In writing to Count Gamba, I forwarded at the same time a box of Bibles and tracts for Lord B., and I said to Gamba, that as his lordship was much engaged, I begged, after he had taken as many Bibles as he pleased in order to disperse himself, that Lord B. would give the remainder to some respectable person to distribute. Lord B. entrusted them to the care of Dr. Meyer, a Swiss physician, long settled in Missolonghi, and the editor of the 'Missolonghi Chronicle.' After Dr. Meyer had received and distributed the books, he wrote me the interesting letter, No. 7, of the Appendix.

About the 15th of February, Lord B. was seized with an epileptic fit, which gave much concern to all his friends in Cephalonia. As his physician, though ingenious and well educated, was young, and could not have had much experience, three medical officers in Cephalonia consulted togeth-

* Bambas often came to our house in Cephalonia, and was particularly pleased with the literature and periodical works of England. We sometimes translated pieces from the Quarterly Review, which were remitted for insertion in the Missolonghi Gazette. One article, I particularly remember, was on the literature of the ancient Greeks, and on the present struggle for freedom. B. entered with all the spirit of the writer, into that apostrophe—

ὦ Παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἴτε
 Ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ
 Παιδας, γυναίκας, θεῶν τε πατρῶων ἔδη
 Θήκας τε προγονων· νῦν ὕπερ πάντων ἀγών.

He stands next to Korai in the estimation of the Greeks, and is highly respected and esteemed by all who have the pleasure of knowing him. He was formerly one of the Professors in the College of Scio, and is now a Professor in the College at Corfu; but when Dr. K. knew him, he had a classical academy in Cephalonia. Although he does not speak English, he understands the language well. I have by me some of his translations, into Greek, of some of Lord Byron's and Sir Walter Scott's poems. Bambas was five years in Paris, and he always regrets that he never went to England; but he was deterred by the expense of education and of living in this country.

er, and we agreed that each of us should write to Dr. Bruno, giving our opinion of the best mode of treating his lordship, should a second attack return, and begging for a particular account of the first.

It was generally reported in Cephalonia, that his lordship's case was said to have been nervous spasms, and to have been treated with valerian and bark, and hence it was that we were induced to take the liberty of writing to Dr. Bruno, apologizing at the same time for our interference, and ascribing it to the interest which we naturally felt in our distinguished countryman. We all wrote that in such a complaint, or indeed in any of an acute nature, his lordship's case should be treated with blood-letting, and purgatives should be freely used, especially at the outset; and we pointed out to Dr. Bruno, that from Lord B.'s habits such a practice would be particularly necessary, for it was probable that in any acute disease a determination to the brain would ensue.

• Dr. Bruno received our letters with great politeness, corrected the false rumours which had been circulated, and stated that he agreed with us in opinion respecting his lordship's complaint and mode of treatment.

As in my letter I had expressed my opinion that it would be advisable for Lord B. to leave Missolonghi, which, from its low and marshy situation, would be unhealthy in the summer months, I advised him either to persuade Lord B. to return to the islands, or make short and easy journies through Greece; to go as far as the seat of government, but not to occupy himself with much political care and business, till his health was completely re-established. Dr. Bruno disagreed with me, as will be seen in the Appendix, No. 8; he thought that no reason for change of place existed, and that, in fact, Missolonghi was more healthy than the islands.

Feeling, as I did, a considerable degree of interest in Lord B., I took the liberty of addressing a letter to himself, in which I advised the same things I had urged to Dr. Bruno. In answer to this, Lord Byron wrote me the letter No. I, in which he expresses his determination to remain at all hazards, as long as his presence was supposed likely to be of use. I again wrote to Lord Byron on the same subject, and on that of the Turkish girl*. About this time, his boat, or

* Mr. Hobhouse has this letter and the papers and books which Dr. K. sent to Lord Byron. Lord B. had proposed, that should Lady B. not consent to receive Haidee, that she should be educated in Italy. To

felucca, came to Argostoli, on board which was Mr. Hodges, who brought a prospectus of the Greek Telegraph. As from the motto and style of the prospectus there was an appearance of radicalism, and an air of irreligion, we all expressed our apprehension to Mr. Hodges, and our regret at such a proceeding, not only because it was essentially wrong, but was likely to injure the cause in which they were engaged. Mr. Hodges said, if we thought so, I ought to write to Lord Byron on the subject, as he was sure he would receive my advice kindly. I complied with this suggestion, and addressed a letter to his lordship, stating our reasons for disapproving of the motto, and the prospectus.

In answer to this, Lord B. wrote the letter No. 2, in the Appendix. As I kept no copies of my correspondence, I am unable to give their contents; but they are still preserved by his lordship's executors*.

We continued to take an interest in all that was going on in Missolonghi, from whence we had arrivals at intervals. As we heard of Lord B.'s preparations for Lepanto, and of his increasing influence and popularity among the Greeks; and learned from Dr. Bruno's letters, that his lordship's health regularly continued to improve,—we had ceased any longer to have apprehension. The intelligence came suddenly and unexpectedly, that Lord B. was dead. The shock that this excited, both among the Greeks and English, was very strong. The singularly great character, thus prematurely cut off in the midst of his years and fame, just as he was entering on the noblest cause in which he had ever been engaged, and appeared likely to redeem his former errors by the splendour and virtue of his future life; made a deep impression on all, and which I hope may be salutary to many.

It appears from Count Gamba's Journal, that on the 1st of March, Lord B. complained of frequent vertigos, which made him feel as though he were intoxicated; but it does not seem that bleeding, which would now have been useful, or indeed that any medical treatment, was judged necessary.

this Dr. K. remonstrated, for after we had received the child we should have considered ourselves her guardians, and could but feel an interest in her future welfare. A slight demur arose from the mother's wishing to accompany her daughter; but as Lord B. had put us to the test, as Christians opposed to Mahometans; although highly inconvenient, we consented to receive both.—Vide Lord B.'s letter, Appendix.

* I regret that I cannot give Dr. K.'s answer.

From this time till the fatal attack, his mind must have been full of anxiety, from the numerous applications of the Greeks for money,—from the turbulence and refractory conduct of the Suliotes,—and from the failure of the projected expedition to Lepanto, of which he was to have been the leader. On the 9th of April, he was overtaken by the rain, yet went into the boat, and two hours afterwards was seized with rigours, fever, and rheumatic pains. On the 10th, he was affected with almost constant shivering; on the 11th, he found himself so well that he rode out; on the 12th, he was confined to his bed with fever. He rose on the 13th, with pain in the bones and head, and had not slept; on the 14th, he rose at 12, the fever was less, the debility greater, and he complained of pain in the head; on the 15th, fever, but the pains were abated, and he transacted business; on the 16th, he wrote a letter, but became worse in the evening; on the 17th, his countenance was suspicious,—in the morning he was bled, and also in the afternoon, and two pounds of blood were taken: that night he was delirious and raved about fighting; on the 18th, Dr. Bruno wished to bleed him. “No,” said he, “if my hour is come I shall die, whether I lose my blood or keep it.” At three in the afternoon, Dr. Bruno and Mr. Millingen called in Dr. Turber, a German, and Dr. Luca Veja, a Greek physician. At four o’clock, his lordship seemed to be aware of his approaching end; he became delirious for a short time, and when he revived he was anxious to give orders. He muttered about twenty minutes, but nothing was distinctly understood. He said, “Now, then, I have told you all.” Fletcher said, “I have not understood a word you have been saying.” Lord B. was distressed at this. “Not understand me? what a pity! then it is too late.” “I hope not,” said Fletcher; “but the Lord’s will be done!” His lordship continued, “Yes, not mine.” He then tried to utter a few words, of which none were intelligible, except, “My sister! my child!” At six in the evening, he said, “I want to go to sleep now,” and turning round, he fell into a slumber, from which he never awoke. Leeches were applied to the temples, and bled freely all night. He continued lethargic twenty-four hours, and at a quarter past six in the afternoon of the 19th, he opened his eyes—shut them again—and expired. His remains were carried to England.

Thus died Lord Byron, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. It would appear from the accounts of his physicians,

who differed in opinion (see Dr. Bruno's letter) with respect to the treatment, that his lordship was averse to be bled, and said, that the lancet had killed more than the lance.

It was industriously spread abroad, that I was going to prove that I had converted his lordship. After trying in vain to stop the idle rumour, I allowed it to take its course. Several of the gentlemen in Cephalonia furnished me with copies of Lord Byron's letters to them, and gave me some curious details of his conversation.

From the time that Lord Byron arrived at Argostoli, on the 6th of August, 1823, to the time of his death, on 19th of April, 1824,—short as this period was,—it may be said with truth, that it was the happiest and brightest of his life. During the whole of that time, he was not engaged in writing any poem, nor was he in the practice of any open vice. The flattering reception which he met with from his countrymen in Cephalonia gave him no small pleasure, which was enhanced by the feeling which he had entertained that his reception would be very different.

He remained on board the *Hercules* for nearly a month, except a short tour which he made to Ithaca, before he went to reside at Metaxata. In returning from Ithaca, he was accompanied by a Scotch gentleman, who asked him his opinion of the epitaph on Sir John More, written by Mr. Wolfe. He said, it was the finest epitaph ever written*.

* Not a drum was heard, nor a funeral note
As his corse to the rampart we hurried;
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
O'er the grave where our hero we buried.

We buried him darkly at dead of night,
The sods with our bayonets turning,
By the struggling moon-beam's misty light,
And the lantern dimly burning.

No useless coffin enclosed his breast;
Nor in sheet nor shroud we bound him;
But he lay like a warrior taking his rest,
With his martial cloak around him.

Few and short were the prayers we said,
And we spoke not a word in sorrow;
But we steadfastly gazed on the face of the dead,
And we bitterly thought of the morrow.

We thought, as we hollowed his narrow bed,
And smoothed down his lonely pillow,

"You must have been highly gratified by the classical remains, and the classical recollections of Ithaca during your visit there," said Colonel D. "You quite mistake me," said Lord B. "I have no poetical humbug about me; I am two old for that. Ideas of that sort are confined to rhyme. —The people at home have very absurd notions of the Greeks, as if they were the Greeks of Homer's time. I have travelled through the country and know the contrary. I have tried to remove these notions." He said he would do every thing for them, but would take no command. He added, "A Turk's word could always be depended on, but not a Greek's, if his interest were in question." Speaking of his intention to go to Constantinople to redeem some Greek captives which he promised to their families when he came from Genoa, Colonel D. dissuaded him from it on account of the danger. "Oh, the worst would be," he said, "they will put me in the seven towers, from which I do not think Strangford would release me; besides he is a poet, and two of a trade you know——" Speaking of Moore, he said, "He is, like all the fraternity, at present employed in writing heroic and patriotic songs in favour of the Spaniards or Greeks; the last work he has dedicated to myself." He said he would give his travels in the Morea to the world; but laughing, added, it would depend on the reception he met with, whether they should be written in the *Childe Harold* or the *Don Juan* style. When any one spoke finely, he used to say, "That will do very well for rhyme." Whether

That the foe and the stranger would tread o'er his head,
And we far away on the billow.

Lightly they'll talk of the spirit that's gone,
And o'er his cold ashes upbraid him;
But nothing he'll reck, if they let him sleep on
In the grave where a Briton has laid him.

But half of our heavy task was done,
When the clock told the hour for retiring;
And we heard, by the distant and random gun,
That the foe was suddenly firing.

Slowly and sadly we laid him down,
From the field of his fame, fresh and gory;
We carved not a line, we raised not a stone,
But we left him alone with his glory.

Homer lived or not, he said he did not know; "but we poets must swear by him."

One night he was out at a gentleman's house; the weather was very hot, and he said when he went on board, that he would bathe; some one expressed surprise that he should bathe at so late an hour; "Oh," said T. (a gentleman who from two great vivacity of imagination and thoughtlessness exaggerated a little), "we were two hours in the water late last night." "Yes," said Lord B. emphatically, "by Shrewsbury clock."

Dr.——— when on board one evening, was narrating to his lordship some wonderful act of ledgerdeman which he witnessed at Paris; Lord B. smiled: "You look incredulous, my lord," said the Doctor. "No, not all," replied Lord B.; "where is T.? I dare say, he saw the same thing."

When he went out to Metaxata he spent the day in an easy and tranquil manner. He seemed to have no fixed hour for his meals, and at the time lived very low, on account of his health. He sometimes forgot himself in the warmth of conversation, and often both ate and drank more than he intended, though I never saw him do either except in a moderate degree. He was fond of riding,—an exercise he daily took. He was a bold and graceful horseman, and appeared to great advantage on horseback. One day, when he was riding, he met Colonel D., who had taken out his regiment into the country for exercise. The Colonel took his lordship in front of the line of the whole regiment; "After all," said he, "there are not finer looking soldiers in the whole world than the English."

Lord B.'s right foot was what is called clubfooted, which he took care to conceal, by wearing his pantaloons as much over the foot as possible, and the weakness of feeling shame for this deformity was frequently apparent, in his care to place this leg behind the other when he was sitting so as to have himself exposed to view. I am persuaded that this deformity was a cause of frequent vexation and chagrin to him. At times, however, as might be expected, he was superior to this weakness, and would make allusions to it. "Take care," said a gentleman who was riding with him, when they came to a difficult pass of the road,— "take care, lest you fall and break your neck." "I should not like that," said his lordship, "but should this leg of mine be broken, of which I have not much use, I should not mind, and perhaps I might get a better."

He was an excellent marksman, and was accustomed to exercise himself with some of his friends very often in firing at a mark, and he invariably surpassed them all in dexterity. He was personally brave.

The woman who washed for him, a soldier's widow, had a smart genteel looking girl, her daughter, about fifteen, whom she occasionally sent to his lordship's house with the linen. Lord B. noticed this, and wrote to Mr. H., of the regiment to which she belonged, requesting him to tell the mother not to send her daughter any more. "You know," he said, "what a parcel of rascals my household is composed of, and I should not like the poor girl to get any injury; and don't fail," he added, "to let Dr. K. know this good action of mine."

He displayed great humanity when some Greeks were buried beneath a part of the road, by the falling in of the sand; some of them were killed, and some seriously injured. He rode instantly to the spot, and was incensed at the indifference which the Greeks collected shewed to the fate of their countrymen*. Alluding to this circumstance, he said that he came out to the Islands prejudiced against Sir T. Maitland's tight government of the Greeks, "but I have now changed my opinion. They are such barbarians, that if I had the government of them, I would pave these very roads with them." He sent Dr. Bruno, his physician, to attend the sufferers and to supply them with medicines.

He was very glad to see any of the English gentlemen who visited him at Metaxata: they were, always hospitably entertained and welcomed, as were also the principal Greeks, who often went out to him. His conversation was invariably lively, polite, and pleasing. He was fond of saying smart and witty things, and never allowed an opportunity of punning to escape him. He generally showed high spirits and hilarity. His conversation and manners varied according

* A new and handsome road had been projected by Colonel N., leading from the town of Argostoli to the district of Levato, in which district his lordship's house was situated, and many Greeks were engaged in this work. Owing to the negligence or inexperience of the workmen, the earth fell in and covered several. The news reached Metaxata immediately; Lord B. rode up to the spot, and enquired whether there were any below the earth. The Greeks (about forty) said they did not know, but they believed there were. "Why," he asked, "do they not get them out?" when he was told their laziness prevented them, he ordered his valet to get off his horse and thrash them soundly, if they did not immediately commence their work!

to his company. With some of the young officers, whose chief pleasure consisted in excitement and amusement, he was among the first of wit and repartee, and according to the accounts I have heard, he was not on every occasion scrupulous in refraining from indelicacy, and even infidelity. This account, however, depends on the authority of others. When he visited one of the officers with whom he seemed pleased, he was accustomed to jest, laugh, smoke, drink brandy and water, and porter, with the best of them. I never saw him guilty of any such actions. Although once or twice his puns were not the most pure, yet they were never gross; and I never heard him utter any improper expression against religion. I have heard him say several witty things; but as I was always anxious to keep him grave, and present important subjects for his consideration, after allowing the laugh to pass, I again endeavoured to resume the seriousness of the conversation, whilst his lordship constantly did the same. Those sayings, to which of course my attention was not directed, I have forgotten, and it is the less material, since there was nothing particular in them, and they were exactly of such a nature as are heard every day. My impression from them was, that they were unworthy of a man of his accomplishments: I mean the desire of jesting. A gentleman, who frequently visited him, told me, that his lordship mentioned that he had generally a sullen and ill-natured fit every evening at eight o'clock, and then vented his ill-humour on those around him, and often abused his servants, especially Fletcher, till this splenetic fit had passed. Another gentleman, who spent several evenings with him, affirmed that he never saw any of these ill humours, but that while he was there, his lordship ever retained his good humour and politeness. About this time there were frequent paragraphs in the papers respecting Lord B. When a paper arrived, or when one was sent from the mess he retired to his bed-room for a few minutes, and then returned and talked, and jested at the reproaches which were cast upon him.

When he first arrived at Cephalonia, the Captain of his ship anchored just before the military hospital. When Lord B. saw it, he complained of it laughingly to Captain Scott, as a thing of bad omen. "But," said his lordship, when he told the story, "the Captain, in order to remedy the evil, made it still worse; for next morning when we awoke, we found he had moored us on the opposite side, it is true, but

it was just against the burying-ground." He was accustomed to spend a good deal of his time in joking with the Captain, who was a sort of humourist himself. "Scott," said Lord B., when these fellows of yours take me over to Greece, are you not afraid that they will be inspired with a love of liberty, desert you, and join the glorious cause of the Greeks?" "I am not at all afraid of that," said the Captain; "I have taken care that they shall not do that." "Why, what have you done?" "I have done to them as your lordship does to me." "What is that?" "I have kept them three months in arrears." Lord Byron laughed heartily at the Captain's joke.

At Metaxata his lordship was visited by many poor refugee Greeks from the Continent and the Isles of the Archipelago. He not only relieved their present distresses, but allotted a certain sum monthly to the most destitute, and this was paid till his death. A list of these poor pensioners was given me by the nephew of Professor Bambas, which I have not at present by me.

When Lord B. was in the harbour, on board the ship, although I not had called on him myself, I persuaded my friend Professor Bambas to pay his respects to his lordship, as due to one who came to befriend his country, and I had no doubt that his lordship would receive a patriot so distinguished as Bambas, with pleasure. Bambas called, but it appeared that Lord B. was quite unacquainted with his reputation and character, and as he was reposing himself, he sent his compliments, and said, that he could not then see him. He, however, soon heard of Bambas after his arrival at Argostoli, and one day when I mentioned the subject, and expressed my surprise that he had not received him, he said he did not know that he was anything but a common priest, and was at the time tired, and did not wish to be disturbed. Some one had told him, he said, that Bambas was a wild democrat. This I mentioned to Bambas. He replied, "No; I would prefer democracy, or rather republicanism, were all my countrymen Phocians, but not till then." When we again spoke of Bambas, Lord B. said he would go and pay him a visit. This, however, mere circumstances prevented; but he sent Count Gamba to make his apologies.

It was from Metaxata he wrote those fine letters to the Greek government in which he warned them of the consequences of dissensions, and exhorted them to true patriotism and peace. Here he waited intelligence from Greece of the

state of parties, from the gentleman whom he sent over to report to him the situation of affairs, and in whose fidelity he could confide.

Count Delladecima assured me, and he had ample opportunities of ascertaining the fact, that in conversing with him on the affairs of Greece, Lord Byron shewed a profound, cool, and deliberate judgment; a patience in examining, and a soundness of political views, which did honour both to the strength of his understanding, and to the goodness of his heart, which was the more surprising to him, he said, as he had formed an idea from Lord Byron's poetical genius, that he would find him full of imaginary and fanciful schemes, or fickle and changeable in his judgment; but, he added of all the men whom I have had an opportunity of conversing with, on the means of establishing the independence of Greece, and regenerating the character of the natives, Lord B. appears to entertain the most enlightened and correct views.

How well Lord B. spent his time in Missolonghi—the utility which his presence and his councils produced to the Greeks—the advances of money that he made to the government, which enabled the Greek fleet to move to Hydra—and above all, the fortification of Missolonghi erected by Parry, chiefly at his expense, without which the town could never have made so memorable a resistance, are well known, and those who wish for a detail of them, may find their curiosity gratified by perusing Count Gamba's narrative. A friend of mine, who was in Greece, and was intimate with Lord Byron, amused me with the following account of affairs, which is too curious to be omitted.

“There was little comfort, or even appearance of comfort, in his mode of living in Missolonghi; his house was small and incommodious, though one of the best in the town; and it was in a low and damp situation. It was frequently necessary to use boats to get at it. Count Gamba lived in lodgings, and often took his meals by himself. Parry and some others lived on the ground-floor, or in houses near his lordship. Bruno was seldom in his company. When my friend arrived at Missolonghi, Lord B. was under a strict regimen; this was probably after his first attack, and hence there was no regular meal prepared for him: his scanty meals he generally took by himself, at whatever hour suited him. P. was officious, pompous, and jealous of having access to, or influence with Lord B. The household appeared in confu-

sion: all the servants had uniforms, each according to his fancy, and some of them were of the most grotesque kind: they seemed to have exchanged duties; the cook, for example, became groom, and the groom became something else, and *vice versa*; each appeared to be doing something else than that which lay within his province."

As most of the officers were dependent on Lord B., either on account of his influence, or for their actual pay, they did not disturb him often. My friend, who thought that Lord B. would not be displeased with company, visited him every night, and took F. with him. Lord B. always received them kindly: there was, however, often a little ceremony in the house, as if it had been an inn; and G. F. was often accustomed to take up a book, and lounge over it till Lord B. had time, or was in a humour for conversing with them. Sometimes he was animated and gay, telling them many amusing anecdotes and stories. He told them that, once when Mr. Murray was complaining of the high price which he gave for his book, he answered him in rhyme, the short line always terminating in "My Murray." One of the lines which he remembers was,

"But you have the printing of the Navy List,
My Murray."

He said that when he and Hobhouse were together in Albania, Hobhouse laid hold of a great quantity of manuscript paper, which had fallen out of his portmanteau, and asked what it was—on being told that it was an account of Lord B.'s early life and opinions, he persuaded him to burn it; "for," said he, "if any sudden accident occur, they will print it, and thus injure your memory." "The loss is *irreparable*," said Lord B. One evening they were talking of the separation between him and Lady B.; he desired them to mention all the causes which they had heard assigned for it, and seemed amused at the absurdity and falsehood of them. When he had heard all, he said, "The causes were too simple to be soon found out."

He often professed his admiration of Sir Walter Scott. He was much engaged about uniforms, and appeared very particular about his dress. Some of the agents of the committees of Switzerland and Germany published something in the *Missolunghi Chronicle* against Baron Freidel, as having authority to act for the English Committee. Lord B. insisted

that they should retract their assertion of having authority from England.

He disliked Dr. Meyer, and some of the Germans; one in particular who was suspected of having assumed a title, and Meyer, because he was so fond of displaying his new ones, such as President of the Missolunghi School, Redacteur, &c. In one of his notes, in order to be as bitter as possible, he wrote, "Be assured that Dr. M. and Baron — cannot have a greater contempt for borrowed titles than your humble servant, N. Byron." The German came to him, and made many apologies with tears, and became on so good a footing with Lord B., that he consented to buy his rich and gaudy uniforms. One day, Lord B. shewed all these to G. F., who said, "I thought the German was your enemy?" "No," said Lord B., "I have pardoned him, for I can never resist a man's tears." He sent the uniforms all back, because he thought them too dear.

One of his household, G., sent to Corfu for a great many articles of dress, all exceedingly fine, and among them was a pair of jack-boots and spurs. Lord B. was very angry when they arrived, either because they were ordered without his knowledge, or because they were too expensive; to G. F. he exclaimed, "See what my buffoon has done; he has ordered such and such things, but I shall send them all back except the elegant jack-boots, which he *shall* wear." And he did wear them to the no small amusement of some of his friends.

The Turkish girl and her mother were captives, and inhabited the house allotted to Millingen for an hospital. M., from pity, allowed them to remain. Lord B. took a fancy to the girl, and had her dressed in fine gaudy clothes, but she became pert and forward. G. F. told this to Lord B., and said if he were M. he would drive them from the house. Lord B. sent for the girl and scolded her.

At this time he gave no dinner parties to the Greeks, and G. F. thinks that this produced no bad effects, as distance increases respect, especially with such people as the Greeks. Mavrocordato came often to Lord Byron, and sat, and smoked, and conversed. One evening when he came, Lord Byron was out of humour, and said to G. F. and F., "Do not go away, for this fellow comes teasing me to give him money; I have already lent him one thousand dollars, and he *shall not have more*." One of them whispered, Mavrocordato understands English; "So much the better," said he; "he will go away

the sooner if he understood me." Mavrocordato sat awhile quietly smoking, and then went away*.

Lord B. was often suspicious, and seemed to think that those who approached him had some interested views, and in general he had too much reason for these conclusions. He at first thought that G. F. came to be admitted into his corps and get some of his money, till his acquaintance with him removed the error. Such of the Greeks as were in office were accustomed to dress in state, and visit him in ceremony: on such occasions Lord B. hurried to his room to throw on his uniform, and the Greeks were evidently under great awe while before him.

His presence in Missolonghi at times appeared to increase the confusion which prevailed, and Lord B. seemed sometimes to enjoy it, especially the burlesque manner in which P. vapoured about and displayed his power, as Adjutant to the Commander-in-chief. He used to say, "His lordship, as commander-in-chief, never gives orders directly, but only through ME. *We*," he said one day, "*we* will subscribe twenty dollars to your Infirmary." Lord B. gave fifty. G. F. sold a pair of tight leather breeches one day to G., who strutted about the dirty streets of Missolonghi in them, to the perfect amazement of the Greeks. "Do not laugh at him," said G. F. to his lordship, "or you will cause him to give me them back, and break my bargain." He seemed sometimes to wish that T. would return, merely to drive away the people that pestered him, and put his house in order; for though he took an obstinate fit occasionally, and would not budge, merely to shew that he was not led by any one, yet in general from indolence, or some other cause, he was facile

* It has been suggested to me, that the above paragraph may give an unjust impression of Mavrocordato's character, whose disinterested conduct in pecuniary matters has never been doubted. It may here be observed, though perhaps scarcely necessary, that the loan spoken of was not made to Mavrocordato, as an individual, but as governor of Missolonghi, for the good of the public service. The character of no one of the Greek leaders stands so high as that of Mavrocordato for disinterested zeal for his country's cause; after filling, for some years, the highest office in the Greek government, he has left it in honourable poverty. Lord Byron, whose little sally was made when out of humour, held Mavrocordato in high esteem, as may be seen from the following passage in a letter to Mr. Murray, dated February 25. 1824.

"Prince Mavrocordato is an excellent person, and does all in his power; but his situation is perplexing in the extreme; still we have great hopes of the success of the contest."

on many points, and allowed himself to be led and influenced.

During his illness, he said to M., who differed in opinion from B., "You differ, that you may have the credit of curing me." At another time he said, "I see that neither of you know anything about the matter." He returned T.'s gun which he had with him, either because he was reluctant to part with so much money, as it was dear, or as was probable, he thought if T. was scarce of money, he would the sooner rejoin him.

He differed on many points with Colonel Stanhope. G. F. is inclined to think, that had he gone to Salona, he might have prevented the civil war by his influence; but he was careful not to write a letter to Ulysses, who had sent him a letter of compliment. One day he desired Count G. to write a letter, which he did. Lord B. took it up, read it, and then coolly tore it to pieces.

A letter was afterwards written to Ulysses, and when Lord B. was told that it had been lost in the river Phidari, with some valuables, he uttered an exclamation of joy, and said, "they should not again prevail on him to write."

S. had been acquainted with T., and attended the funeral of Williams and Shelley. When it was finished, he went away, and Lord B. asked T. who that gentleman was. T. replied, "that he was an English officer, who would not intrude, because he had heard that his lordship wished to live retired." "Then I shall be acquainted with him," said Lord B. spurring his horse, he soon overtook S.; introduced himself, and invited S. to breakfast. After this, he had frequent opportunities of seeing Lord B., who used to say, T. was an excellent fellow till his Lara and Corsair spoiled him, by his attempting to imitate them.

G. F. told me, that Lord B. liked and seemed pleased with F., who admired him excessively, and with the greatest simplicity and singleness of heart: but he did not like H., who was stiff and formal. When they were disputing about the motto for the Greek Telegraph, (the first having given offence to many,) Lord B. insisted that the old one should not be retained. Count G. entered one day, and said, "Pray, my lord, what motto shall we have?" Lord B. pettishly replied, "Foolishness to the Greeks."

We all seemed at this time, said G. F., to have lost our high sense of honour, and were occupied in selling and buying, from one another, guns, horses, breeches, uniforms,—

each endeavouring to make the best bargain he could, influenced, probably, added G. F. by the contagious example of the Greeks around us. G. F. did not think that Lord B. was fitted for the place: it required one of stern demeanour, and of iron nerve. T. was of the same opinion. Lord Murray, he thought, was much better qualified for it: he was a great favourite with the Greeks, from speaking their language so well; and, from the undeviating gentleness of his manner, he would have attached to himself all the English around him.

Lord B. was rather above the middle size; his countenance was fine, and indicated intelligence, but especially benevolence. His forehead was large and ample, his eyes were of a grey colour, his nose well-proportioned, his mouth wide, and his chin projecting; his hair was light brown, inclining to grey, particularly about the temples: his appearance was full and robust*. He had high shirt collars, sometimes embroidered, but without frills; he wore often nankeen jacket and trowsers, sometimes a plaid jacket; he generally wore a gold chain about his neck, on which a locket was suspended, and the end of the chain was placed in his waistcoat pocket, and a cameo, with the head of Napoleon.

His countenance generally exhibited a smile, or a look of softness, and thoughtfulness; and when animated in conversation, there was a keen and percant expresssion of eye, with a slight colour in his face, which was usually pale and clear.

He spoke with energy, vivacity, and freedom; his utterance was rapid, and varied in its intonations; his language was select, forcible, and pure; and his ideas were expressed with unusual ease and propriety. His voice was soft and melodious, to a degree which at first appeared to be the result of affectation. His manners were dignified and well-bred; he was invariably polite.

The impression which he left on me, judging of his manner merely, was that of a perfectly polished man, with much affability, cheerfulness, vivacity, and benevolence. In the conversations which I had with him, he appeared to shew an acute and cultivated mind, rather than a profound understanding. There was no appearance of extensive science or

* Colonel D. told him that many persons had supposed he was quite *en-bon-point*. He said, "two years ago I was much stouter, and as fat as the captain of my brig."

erudition, nor that coolness and sobriety of judgment, which a learned philosopher might be expected to exhibit: but his manner was lively, witty, and penetrating, shewing that he had a mind of strong powers, capable of accomplishing great things, rather than affording a constant proof that he had already accomplished them. He was so easy, affable, and kind that you required at times to recall to mind his rank and fame, lest his manner should unconsciously betray you into undue familiarity,—an error into which one gentleman fell,—and was punished by Lord B.'s avoiding him as much as politeness permitted. Although he must have looked into a variety of books, and was acquainted with a little on every subject, yet I was not impressed with an idea of the profoundness of his knowledge, nor should I have been disposed to rely on the solidity of his judgment. He often spoke for effect, and appeared to say fine and brilliant things, without having any other end in view; a practice which might display quickness of discernment, eloquence and wit, but which of course, could not excite the decided admiration which the display of a richly-furnished mind, or a superior and solid understanding, would have elicited. Though not insensible to renown and distinction, and though raised to the highest pitch of poetical eminence, he had no poetical enthusiasm, or fantastic frenzy in his manner and conversation. He felt that these were useful, and to be studied and valued only as they lead to something more substantial; and as he had a quick perception of the ridiculous, he seemed to have a feeling, that frequently crossed his mind, as if fame and poetry, and every thing else, which men so eagerly court, was, in reality, hollow and vain; and contempt for the whole human race—including himself—was often predominant.

His varied fortunes in life, his unhappiness amidst such means of happiness, his splendid fame, his personal defects, and his domestic calamities, his mortified pride, and vanity, might naturally lead him often to such a conclusion. It is true, that all I say is but my own opinion, and what I cannot affirm as certain, yet, as far as one can judge of another by looks, hints, or the train of associations, such seem often to have been the predominant feelings of his mind. I have been asked by some, if his appearance and manner did not convey the idea of a fiend incarnate. On the contrary, his appearance and manner gave the idea of a kind-hearted, benevolent, and feeling man, with an amiable and pleasing

countenance, but a man who was led by passions, by prejudice, and not by coolness of judgment nor the steady self-denial, and heroical feelings of Christian principles. That his was a mind often agitated in private by gloomy meditations and melancholy feelings appeared at times, when he gave for a moment repose to the mind, from the exertion of acting his part in company, and allowed his countenance to assume those features which were habitual, for then the expression which I saw once or twice was that of melancholy and woeful forlornness; but it was surprising to see the quick and striking change, passing immediately from this, to a sprightly, animated, and amiable expression, whenever he saw that it was expected of him to resume his part; which was always the principal in conversation. Sometimes it struck me, that in reality, in his solitary hours, he was melancholy and unhappy, and that the very great hilarity and vivacity which he shewed in company was a proof of it, as if he were glad to escape, for the sake of variety, from his habitual frame of mind. I often looked at Lord Byron with admiration, sympathy, and compassion: admiration for his great abilities, sympathy with his unfortunate life, and compassion for one who, with all the wealth, rank and fame which fell to the lot of few, and which, when founded on a proper basis, are calculated so much to promote happiness, appeared unhappy; not merely because he was not virtuous, but because he was not religious. Many talents he possessed, calculated to excite wonder and envy; yet the highest of all blessings, piety, he possessed not.

The vanity of all earthly things, if the favour of God attends them not, was strongly impressed on the mind in listening to him, and considering his character. He possessed many virtues, such as friendship and benevolence, yet he was not happy; and what could these avail, without that peace and tranquility of mind here, under every situation and circumstance, and that strong and certain hope of a blessed immortality in heaven, which alone can be obtained through faith in the merits of our Redeemer? Yet Lord B. excited intense interest and sympathy in my mind. He felt and acknowledged that he was not happy in his unsettled notions of religion; he was desirous of learning the truth; yet, like too many others, paid not that attention to it, nor cultivated so deep and immediate an interest in learning it, as he should have done. He vaguely hoped, no doubt, that if the Scriptures were true, he should ascertain

the truth of them some time or other ; and hence, surrounded as he was with such companions and so many public and private duties, it was a matter of apprehension, that even this desire might be suspended, or even extinguished. His patience, however, in listening to me, his candour in never putting captious objections, his acknowledgement of his own sinfulness, gave hope that the blessing of religious truth might be opened to his understanding ; and though these were damped by an occasional levity, at least by the want of that seriousness which the subject required, yet, on the whole, the general result was favourable.

It may be useful to consider Lord B.'s character in the following points of view—as a man, as a poet, and, lastly, in reference to Christianity. Of the minute details of his early life, I am ignorant, as no full and authentic account of it has yet been given*. He first appeared as a poet before he reached the age of majority, and his work was received with an overwhelming ridicule and scorn by a critic in the *Edinburgh Review*. There was no excuse for defects or failings—no candid indulgence—no kind encouragement to try again, and endeavour to do better, but a cruel and inhuman taunting and mockery. That Lord B.'s vanity was mortified by the blow, is certain. It struck to his very heart, and roused his bitterest feelings ; and in every variety of scene, when wandering in the regions of Greece, or on the smiling shores of Turkey, the effects were severely felt and powerfully expressed. This disappointment, joined to his personal deformity, and his scantiness of fortune when compared with others of his rank, affected him deeply, and he felt as if nature and man had treated him unkindly ; instead of yielding to circumstances or to the dictates of reason, he only exerted his faculties to fight the battle into which he had been so unexpectedly dragged. Had he been educated in strictness of moral virtue, or in resignation to religion ; and had those habits been strengthened by example, his fate and his feelings might have been different ; but, left an orphan, placed in society where ambition and wealth were the only objects—where the passions had no particular restraint, he unfortunately chose not to restrain his. He determined to engage in the fight with the *Review*.

* Mr. Moore's work contains a full and interesting narration of Lord B.'s early years, and most strikingly exemplifies that paradox,

"The Child is father of the man."

ers, and exhibited the same spirit of malevolent and angry feeling, unworthy of a virtuous and noble mind, but justifiable, or at least excusable in his case, as he was ungently attacked without having even given provocation. His opponents had no excuse, and his critic is not to be envied, if his judgment be now sobered, when he looks back on his wanton attack, and reflects how much his cruel criticism may have contributed to the chequered, unfortunate life of his victim. Lord B., in the execution of his vengeance against his critic, unfortunately attacked many others in terms of contempt and derision, and thus was guilty of the same fault which had been committed against himself. He assailed the most distinguished critics, poets, and writers; and the satirical powers of a young and noble author, who was thus daring and impetuous, were not likely to conciliate the forbearing hand and the kindly praise of others.* In the mean time he went on rapidly, adding poem to poem; the subjects were strange and unusual, and his lordship seemed to care little about the sympathy of his readers or the rules of poetry. His progress was watched—his fame rose bright amidst all distrust and opposition: many, however, grudged his reputation, and praised him with reluctance.

It was his lot to be constantly before the public eye. His marriage, his sudden separation, to which he imprudently gave publicity;—his departure for Italy, his mode of living there; his poems, which became more and more descriptive, as it was deemed, of his character, and were equally deserving of censure and praise,—all were calculated to excite a

*Colonel D. took up a book, which was "the English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." "You need not look at this," said D.; "it is your own." "This book did me a great deal of harm," replied his lordship; "I lost a great number of friends who have never forgiven me." "It is the best you ever wrote." "Why," said Lord B., "I published a few silly songs, written when I was young; and when the Reviewers treated me so severely, I wished to show them that I would not put up with their insolence so tamely as they expected. But one thing I regret very much in this Book, is what I wrote of Lord Carisle. I am sorry for it." Colonel D. mentioned the Quarterly Review on his Cain. "Oh, you should read the Edinburgh Quarterly—this gives it much sharper; for though on my own side, it is always hardest against me."

One day, when talking of one of his aunts whom the colonel knew, he said, "We have been an unfortunate family; none of us have come to any good." The colonel said, "He hoped to see him a methodist yet, though he regretted that in the interval much time was lost, as his lordship should now be writing some beautiful hymns." "When I do become one," he replied, "I shall not be a lukewarm Christian."

host of enemies who had hitherto lain quiet. As censure and criticism reached him, and he was always sensible to them, instead of endeavouring to remove the cause, he seems to have been still further roused, by his passions, and by a consciousness that he was censured far more than he deserved,—by many whose conduct was worse than his own,—to continue the battle with unabating vigour. As religion had never much engaged his thoughts, and as unfortunately many religious people, from a preposterous fear of the injury he would do, inveighed against him from the pulpit, and spoke or wrote against him, his anger seems to have been excited towards them also, and he resolved to write in defiance of them all ; and as he did so on the spur of the moment and under malignant passions, and not from an ambition of the praise of the present or future good men, his poems became increasingly defective in purity, and were even tainted with the appearance of infidelity.

There are circumstances which induce me to believe that Lord Byron never doubted the divine authenticity of the Scriptures, arising probably from the influence of early education, if no higher principle was in operation, and that those hints of infidelity were thrown out by way of desperate or contemptuous bravado. His conduct, however, was not to be excused. Writing, as he did, under the influence of impetuous feelings, and stung by what he considered unnecessarily cruel and unmerited reproach and censure, he fell into greater mistakes than he did at first. He libelled and ridiculed his native country, from which he was a voluntary exile ; he satirized his king ; he satirized his political enemies, and his vengeance followed them even after they were laid in the grave. These things were highly culpable ; but who does not perceive that his public life was a warfare, a combat excited by his critic, and continued by a host of others ? and who could expect that a man so vain, so disappointed, so mortified, and who fought with such feelings, —with the added spirit of vengeance, would do so with soberness and moderation ?

His character as a man, if separated from that of a poet, has no unusual feature, and is, indeed, a common one. Deprived early of his parents, he grew up without correction or control, and he displayed some of those extravagances and eccentricities which distinguish too many of our young noblemen. He married early ; soon separated from his wife ; lived in Italy for some years, in comparative seclusion ; then

engaged in the cause of Greece, and died at an early age. His private life, like that of many others, was a mixture of virtues and vices; and his vices, there is reason to believe, were those which are most indulgently looked upon by the world, nor were they more numerous than most of those of his own rank; while his charities and benevolence were, perhaps, more than can usually be found.

His writings, however, have given a tinge of his private character; and hence it is impossible to form an estimate of the latter, without taking into view the former. Had he not written, it is obvious that there was nothing unusual in his character, nothing that is not paralleled in the lives of many private gentlemen. From the choice of his subjects, he has had the peculiar fate of its having been supposed that his imaginary characters were, in almost all instances, the representation of his own; and hence many have judged of his private character by those which he has drawn in his writings. That there is some foundation for this cannot be denied; but that the conclusion has been carried too far, a slight consideration will very readily convince any one. His first work against the Edinburgh Reviewers exhibited a fearless and undaunted mind, equally prepared for attack and defence, and not very scrupulous in the means. That it had the misfortune to keep his mind in this state, ready for warfare with all his passions awakened, has already been hinted at; and this consideration seems to account, sometimes, for the choice of subjects in his future poems, and for those hints and remarks which he incidentally scatters through them. As his life was one of change and bustle—as his feelings and passions were never subjected to any steady control—as he wrote often under the sting and writhing of mortified pride and disappointment—as he also wrote with a feeling that his sins were too severely punished by many whose conduct did not justify them in doing so, it may be supposed that he was not always happy in his subjects and delineation, nor prudent and guarded in his remarks. Though some of these circumstances led him into errors, they contributed, there is room to conjecture, to that free, unshackled style of writing, which, leaving his genius uncramped by rules or criticisms, which he both feared and despised, enabled him to reach some of those excellencies which place him on a level with the very first poets of this or any country. The subject of *Child Harold*, the finest, and, upon the whole, the most unexceptionable of his poems, was that of a man sated with

all the sins of his youth, and experiencing, like Solomon, the vanity of all human things,—wandering from his native country, and giving vent to his feelings and sentiments, as the places he wandered over, and the persons he met with, excited. As there were some points of resemblance between this imaginary character and his own, the mind naturally connects them together, and dwells with some sort of mysterious curiosity on the innumerable vices which the young wanderer must have committed, when, tired with all and stung with remorse, he leaves his country to seek ease in variety, to his troubled conscience. The impression that such must have been Lord Byron's character in his youth is made by this poem; though sober reflection might teach us, that it could have been conceived and written by one whose youth was spent in the exercise of every virtue, and whose conduct was unstained by vice or crime. The character of the Giaour, Lara, the Corsair, Manfred, and, finally, that of Don Juan, confirm these impressions. The poet seemed to delight in imagining and delineating all that was bad in human nature. Impetuous, stormy, and violent passions; insatiable revenge, unconquered pride, ferocity, and the ungovernable and unlawful omnipotence of love, seem subjects which engaged his thoughts and his pen: in them were mixed expressions of discontent with all earthly enjoyments; with the established order of things; with feelings of contempt for all that man takes pride in; the vanity of ambition, of rank, of warlike or scientific glory. He portrays the misery which man brings on man, from the exercise of unruly passions; the evils of tyranny and war; the disorders in the physical, as well as in the moral world: he tries in vain to penetrate the inscrutable mysteries of Providence; and, failing in his attempt to account for what he sees, he throws out doubts against the Divinity of the Scriptures. He is not the poet of virtue. No character ennobled by virtue, or by piety, is sung by him. Beauty is a plaything, an object of desire; and though his descriptions of female beauty of face and figure are in the highest degree poetical, yet they are drawn without any other virtue than that which education, or the opinion of society, gives them; and they are drawn in order to display that devotedness of love,—whether lawful or unlawful, it matters not with the poet,—that sacrifice of every worldly interest, that encountering of every misery and woe, and death itself, in pursuit of its gratification, or in its devotedness to the object beloved. With him, love

must reign paramount to all laws and principles, moral and divine ; and death and damnation must be encountered, rather than restrain its impetuous and uncontrollable force. In short, it is a species of insanity, that takes possession of the mind, which absorbs every other feeling and interest.

Such is the general character of his poetry. I speak not of his style, of his invention, of his versification, of the grandeur of his delineations, of his frequent sublime descriptions, both of moral and physical portraits, and the various excellencies and defects of his compositions. These I leave to others, as my object is simply to endeavour to ascertain his character as a man. On these points I shall only remark that, considering Lord B. merely in the light of a poet, he has not only surpassed all his contemporaries, but passing over a long list of great names, he places himself on a level with Shakspeare and Milton.

The question however recurs, how far his poetry illustrates his moral and intellectual character, and how far it is a faithful impression of it.

It can be conceived, that a moral man might form conceptions such as he has done, and publish them, merely as best suiting his genius, and as being more likely to produce effect than others which have presented themselves to his imagination. The mind of man is delighted at that which is wonderful, astonishing, and striking, whether the impressions are favourable to virtue or not ; and a poet, conversant with human nature, will find that such pictures of new, splendid, grand, and horrid views of human nature will produce a greater impression than those that are soft, pleasing, and virtuous. But though these subjects may be permitted to a poet, as within the province of his art, yet he is amenable to censure and condemnation if his descriptions are calculated to destroy or diminish virtue, piety, loyalty, and all those feelings which contribute to private or social happiness. Every man is under obligations to maintain these ; and whoever violates them, whatever may be the object, whether to display the power of his talents, or to efface those principles, the existence of which he disbelieves or hates, is justly condemned. Lord B., therefore, is amenable to the same tribunal, in as far as he has violated those obligations which are due to the peace and welfare of society. That he has violated them to a great extent, few will venture to deny ; but what were his motives for doing so, it is more difficult to ascertain. The events of his life encourage the idea, that he

drew such portraits as were most congenial to his own mind and that the sentiments he ascribes to others are entirely his own ; but, to carry this belief to the length which some have carried it, would violate every principle of candour and charity, and would award to him a more severe and uncharitable judgment than has been pronounced on any other poet. The poet having a choice of characters, can draw them as he considers most likely to produce effect, and for that purpose he has a wide range allowed him ; but it does not therefore follow, that these are characters which he himself loves, and admires, and wishes to be held up for imitation, or that the sentiments which he ascribes to them are his own.—It is true that such conceptions of character have passed through his mind, but they are no more to be considered his fixed and habitual sentiments, than are the evil thoughts and imaginations which often pass through the minds of men, to their great regret. With respect, therefore, to Lord B., no positive judgment can be drawn, but that the same charity and candour should be exercised towards him, which has been exercised towards every other poet. From what I saw of him, I am induced to conclude, that most of his characters were drawn, because he considered them to have a more striking poetical effect than others of a different kind, and that the sentiments they utter are for the purpose of filling up his conception of the consistency and individuality of the character ; that he had no specific object either to recommend vice or promote virtue, and that he neither considered the moral nor immoral effect of his writings. This remark I would not, however, apply to his writings without exception, because there are many expressions in his works, and especially in that of *Don Juan*, the effects of which he must have known were likely to be positively prejudicial, and in writing which, he violated all that indulgence which is properly allowed to a poet. I am inclined to believe that occasionally the sentiments which he ascribes to his characters were, at the time he wrote them, really his own : thus his discontent with the state of society, his hatred of tyranny and oppression, might be judged in general to be the habitual sentiments of his own mind, arising from that melancholy view of human nature which his early misfortunes and disappointments might impress upon him. His abuse of individuals, his forgetfulness of what was due to loyalty, and his ridicule of the king, were the result of prejudice and passion of the moment, and the subjects of after regret. His abuse

of Lord Castlereagh I conceive to have been the effect of his really believing him to have been an enemy to the true interests of his country; and this feeling being carried to excess, he considered it was just to hold him up to the execration of posterity. His doubts of the inspiration of the Scriptures were not the actual convictions of his mind, but transient, —uttered in the feeling of the moment, and springing from a mixture of doubt and of bravado, that people might stare and wonder at his boldness.

I would acquit him, therefore, of a preference to vice, instead of virtue, merely because he has painted vicious characters; most of the sentiments which he has attributed to them are, it appears to me, imaginings of the brain, and not the convictions of the heart; and many others, which are more directly applicable to himself, were the result of passing impressions, and not expressive of his fixed and habitual belief. I would also acquit him of any determinate view of destroying virtue, encouraging vice, and promoting infidelity; and candour requires that we should believe that his characters and subjects were chosen for their poetical and striking effect, and not with any other secret and insidious view.

But, acquitting him of all this, we are still to ascertain that degree of praise and blame which the nature of his writings lead us to bestow upon him. In the first place he is not entitled to the praise of noble, enlightened, virtuous, and pious sentiments and descriptions. In the second place he is not entitled to praise for his writings having left any favourable and pleasing impressions of humane nature, or of pure and unmixed delight in the contemplation of his characters. In the third place he is blamable for the unfavourable impressions which are produced by strong, exalted delineations of vicious, though great passions, of unlawful loves, of wild ambition, discontent, and turbulence; by doubts of virtue and of piety, and in his descriptions of moral profligacy, particularly in *Don Juan*. Every good man must regret that his extraordinary talents were not better applied. His poems produce a mixed feeling of wonder and astonishment, of horror and regret. It is not more displeasing to see the horrid sublime of vice, than to contemplate that of nature; and had the mind something, however little, in his poems, in the praise of virtue and piety, on which it might rest, giving a hint as it were of the misery and woe which ever attends violent passions, describing the remorse for crime and the agony of guilt, he would have saved his character from re-

proach, and would have left an impression that his descriptions were selected and drawn for practical effect. Had this been done, and had Don Juan never been written, his poems would have been read with pleasure and instruction, as adding new views, finely drawn, of the vanities of human character. It is perhaps well, however, that they have been written, though many might wish that Byron had not been the man. They are such as none but a genius of the highest order could have written: they shew a desperate disregard of virtuous fame, which marks strongly the impetuous, energetic, and daring character of the man, and the singular circumstances of life which drew it forth, and in which no other man has been, or will perhaps be placed. As they were written under irritation and agitation of feeling when judgment and reflection were asleep, they were the wild throes of passion, rather than the result of long and studied deliberation. As he wrote not for fame, nor posterity, but from the impulse of the moment, so we need not be surprised that we find so much to censure and regret. But this very consideration will form his excuse with posterity, when time has mellowed the asperities of his character, when his failings are excused in consideration of the temptations to which he was exposed; and it will acquit him of all attempts and settled plans of undermining virtue and promoting the cause of infidelity and vice,—an idea which never would have been entertained, had not circumstances prevented a cool reflection and a calm decision.

In short, the name of Byron will go down to posterity with those of the first poets of the country. His grossness will find an example in some of those whom England most admires. His slight tincture of infidelity will be attributed to the circumstances of his life, and he will be reckoned of a peculiar order, as having given the best paintings of vice and crime; a class which, though not edifying in a moral way, may not be uninstrusive in an intellectual point of view, as exhibiting examples of strength and conceptions of the mind. Though Byron, therefore, cannot enter into the class of the good, the moral, and the virtuous poets,—the number of which is unfortunately too small,—he will rank among the highest in that of poets in general: nor will he have much to suffer in point of mere morality if compared with Shakspeare, the first of that class, as there is far more grossness and indelicacy in the works of Shakspeare than those of Byron; the manners of the age, it is true, present some excuse for the former.

They are both the poets of nature, that is, of nature exhibiting, as it really does, a mixture of goodness and vice,—of crime, and guilt, and passion,—of virtue and iniquity. They are equally powerful in delineating the varied features of individual character; though, as Shakspeare has represented it under a greater variety of forms, he may be thought to have excelled Byron in richness of invention, and in eloquence of poetry; yet, while this is admitted, it may be contended that many of the delineations of Byron shew the same strength and vigour of intellect so strikingly peculiar to Shakspeare. Of neither of them can it be said, that they never wrote a line, which, dying they would wish to blot, though both of them excel Cowper in strength of poetical genius, they are far his inferiors in virtue and moral poetry. His fame will extend as widely as theirs; and while they excite the admiration, he will preserve the love and gratitude of every good man, who can recur to his pages with the assurance that his feelings of reverence for virtue and religion will not only receive no shock, but be improved and invigorated by the charms of his poetry and the truth and justness of his remarks.

It appears, therefore, from a review of Byron's private character, that it was a common one, being mixed with many virtues and stained with some fashionable vices. We meet nothing in it to command our veneration; we find many things to pity and excuse, from the peculiarity of his situation; but we are not entitled to call him a virtuous, pious man. In his poetical character, we find much reason to admire his wonderful talents. We may regret that his poems were not finished with a greater end in view than he seems to have had; that is, that he did not propose to himself more distinctly the promotion of virtue. We may blame him for his indelicacy and licentiousness of description in some of his works, and also for many of his sentiments, and especially for the levity, and appearance of infidelity, with which he sometimes alludes to sacred subjects. We observe in them however, no proof of fixed opinions, or reason to believe that in general he portrayed the features of his own character; and we may readily believe, without any breach of candour, that his most reprehensible descriptions and sentiments, written under the influence of passion and prejudice, or the result of ignorance, would have been an object of regret to himself had he lived, and perhaps often were so. With respect to religion, we find nothing like a bitter enmi-

ty to it, or a settled conviction that it was an imposture. Some passages display a levity and an appearance of incredulity, but nothing like a deliberate denial, or a rejection of its truth. We find in fact, that he was like all those nominal Christians, who are unregenerate;—he knew not its spirit. His conduct was not regulated by it, and he differed simply from many of those who hold in the world a very respectable character, in his having treated it with seeming ridicule in his writings, while they, perhaps, have done the same in conversation.

He was, in fact, what he represented himself to be when I saw him,—unsettled in his religious opinions. He rejected the appellation of infidel; he said it was a cold and chilling word. He confessed he was not happy; he said he wished to be convinced of the truth of religion.—We have now to consider if his conduct confirmed this statement.



Dr. Kennedy did not live to fill up the design which he had sketched out. There are many notes and memoranda, and extracts from Lord Byron's works; but these are so short intricate and abrupt, that I cannot define their meaning. It is a source of regret to me, that I never entered into any particular conversation with respect to this intended publication. All remarks and criticisms were to be reserved till the work was finally matured; this period never arrived, and it is impossible for me to illustrate, even in an inferior manner, the design and end which Dr. Kennedy had in view.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

[FROM LORD BYRON.]

Missolonghi, March 4, 1824.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,

I HAVE to thank you for your two very kind letters, both received at the same time, and one long after its date. I am not unaware of the precarious state of my health, nor am, nor have been, deceived on that subject. But it is proper that I should remain in Greece; and it were better to die doing something than nothing. My presence here has been supposed so far useful as to have prevented confusion from becoming worse confounded, at least for the present. Should I become, or be deemed useless or superfluous, I am ready to retire; but in the interim I am not to consider personal consequences; the rest is in the hands of Providence,—as indeed are all things. I shall, however, observe your instructions, and indeed did so, as far as regards abstinence, for some time past. Besides the tracts, &c., which you have sent for distribution, one of the English artificers (high Brownbill, a tinman) left to my charge a number of Greek Testaments, which I will endeavour to distribute properly. The Greeks complain that the translation is not correct, nor in *good* Romaic: Bambas can decide on that point. I am trying to reconcile the clergy to the distribution, which (without due regard to their hierarchy) they might contrive to impede or neutralize in the effect, from their power over their people*. Mr. Brownbill has gone to the islands, having some apprehension for his life (not from the priests however), and apparently preferring rather to be a saint than a martyr, although his apprehensions of becoming the latter were probably unfounded. All the English artificers accompanied him, thinking themselves in danger, on account of some troubles here, which have apparently subsided.

* That this was not the case, see Dr. Meyer's Letter.

I have been interrupted by a visit from P. Mavrocordato and others since I began this letter, and must close it hastily, for the boat is announced as ready to sail. Your future convert, Hato, or Hatagee, appears to me lively, and intelligent, and promising, and possesses an interesting countenance. With regard to her disposition I can say little, but Millingen, who has the mother (who is a middle-aged woman of good character) in his house as a domestic (although their family was in good worldly circumstances previous to the revolution), speaks well of both, and he is to be relied on. As far as I know, I have only seen the child a few times with her mother, and what I have seen is favourable, or I should not take so much interest in her behalf. If she turns out well, my idea would be to send her to my daughter in England (if not to respectable persons in Italy), and so to provide for her as to enable her to live with reputation either singly or in marriage, if she arrive at maturity. I will make proper arrangements about her expenses through Messrs. Barff and Hancock, and the rest I leave to your discretion and to Mrs. K.'s, with a great sense of obligation for your kindness in undertaking her temporary superintendence.

Of public matters here I have little to add to what you will already have heard. We are going on as well as we can, and with the hope and the endeavour to do better. Believe me,

Ever and truly,

Yours very faithfully,

(Signed) N. BN.

DR. KENNEDY, &c. &c.

Argostoli, Cephalonia.

[FROM LORD BYRON.]

Missolonghi, March 10, 1824.

DEAR SIR,

You could not disapprove of the motto to the Telegraph more than I did, and do; but this is the land of liberty, where most people do as they please, and few as they ought.

I have not written, nor am inclined to write, for that or for any other paper, but have suggested to them, over and over, a change of the motto and style. However, I do not think that it will turn out either an irreligious or a levelling publication, and they promise due respect to both churches and things, *i. e.*, the editors do.

If Bambas would write for the Greek Chronicle, he might have his own price for articles.

There is a slight demur about Hato's voyage, her mother wishing to go with her, which is quite natural, and I have not the heart to refuse it; for even Mahomet made a law, that in the division of captives the child should never be separated from the mother. But this may make a difference in the arrangement, although the poor woman (who has lost half her family in the war) is, as I said, of good character, and of mature age, so as to render her respectability not liable to suspicion. She has heard it seems from Prevesa, that her husband is no longer there. I have consigned your Bibles to Dr. Meyer; and I hope that the said Doctor may justify your confidence: nevertheless, I shall keep an eye upon him. You may depend upon my giving the society as fair play as Mr. Wilberforce himself would; and any other commission for the good of Greece will meet with the same attention on my part.

I am trying, with some hope of eventual success, to reunite the Greeks, especially as the Turks are expected in force, and that shortly. We must meet them as we may, and fight it out as we can.

I rejoice to hear that your school prospers, and I assure you that your good wishes are reciprocal. The weather is so much finer, that I get a good deal of moderate exercise in

boats and on horseback, and am willing to hope that my health is not worse than when you kindly wrote to me. Dr. Bruno can tell you that I adhere to your regimen, and more for I do not eat any meat, even fish.

Believe me ever yours,
Very faithfully and truly,
(Signed) N. BN.

DR, KENNEDY, &c.&c.&c.
Argostoli, Cephalonia.

P.S.—The mechanics (six in number) were all pretty much of the same mind. Brownbill was but *one*. Perhaps they are less to blame than is imagined, since Colonel Stanhope is said to have told them, "*that he could not positively say their lives were safe.*" I should like to know *where* our life is safe, either here or any where else? With regard to a place of safety, at least such heremetically-sealed safety as these persons appeared to desiderate, it is not to be found in Greece at any rate; but Missolonghi was supposed to be the place where they would be useful, and their risk was no greater than that of others.

[FROM COUNT GAMBA.]

Missolonghi, 10th Feb. 1824.

DEAR SIR.

FROM the Honourable Colonel Stanhope you will have heard of the praiseworthy desire, and the good hope which we entertain, of introducing and spreading civilization among this people, by means of the Sacred Scriptures, if the government of liberated Greece should be confided to those hands which all good men expect, and if Lord Byron should preserve that influence which his generosity has merited for him. I hope to be able to co-operate in some measure in this excellent work, and shall certainly do it with pleasure. I am perfectly persuaded that there is no better means of erad-

icating the vile superstitions and the barbarity which blind this people (without precipitating them into all the evils which spring from the contrary excess, that is from atheism), than the propagation of the light of the Gospel. But before this can produce any sensible effect, there are many dangers to shun, and many obstacles to overcome, which in a great degree may be accomplished by other measures. The direction of a Journal, entrusted to persons of good intentions and good understanding, appears to me the most efficacious. A gazette has been commenced in Greek, and shortly another will follow in Italian. For the Greek, principally, there is a great want of correct and intelligent writers. I believe that Professor Bambas is one of the best among the Greeks, and no one seems more adapted than he is for so important a charge; but we are not able to offer him a situation equivalent to that in which he is now established, and the most ardent patriotism would be required to supply what is wanting. But, perhaps the time is not far distant, in which we shall be able to invite him without compromising ourselves, and in the mean time, if it would not be displeasing to him to send us some article in Greek for the Gazette of Missolonghi, it would be very gratifying to the government here, as well as to Lord Byron. I beg you to present our respects to him, and communicate to us his decision.

You will have heard something about our adventures; mine particularly were somewhat romantic. I was five days a prisoner of Yusuff Pasha, with no small danger at first, since our little bark appeared to the frightened imagination of the Turks to be a brulota; then, well treated, and at last liberated without any damage.

Present, I pray you, my respects to your lady, and believe me to be always

Your devoted servant,

PIETRO GAMBA.

DR. KENNEDY, *Cephalonia*.

[From COUNT GAMBA.]

Missolonghi, Feb. 24th, 1824.

DEAR SIR,

My liberation was truly romantic; the greatest proof which we can have of it is that none of you in Cephalonia will believe the story of my friend Spiro Valsamachi. But whatever may be your incredulity, it is altogether true, because the whole was narrated to me by the Dey himself. But I do not wish to yield the whole merit to Signore Spiro; but peace to these fooleries.

We have expected the articles from* Professor Bamba, but hitherto in vain: I wish however to ascribe this to the want of opportunities. Make every effort to stimulate him. We shall now publish a new gazette in English and Italian—in short, in every language in which the articles shall be despatched to us. It will be entitled the “Greek Telegraph.” The object of the gazette will be to give a faithful narration of the affairs of Greece to those nations of Europe which take an interest in them. I hope you will contribute some articles. You must forward them to “Signore Meyer, Director of the Greek Chronicle.” My lord employs all his influence to inspire the Greeks with more Christian and humane sentiments even towards their enemies. He obtained the other day, two Turkish slaves and set them at liberty, and he will immediately do the same to twenty-four women and children, who have been here in misery and slavery ever since the first breaking out of the revolution. A little girl about eight years of age, and who wished not to return among the Turks, remained behind. She is of a fine form of person, and exhibits the best inclinations of mind. It would truly be a betraying of her at her age, in which the national prejudices and superstitions cannot have taken deep root, to leave her a prey to the brutal customs of the Turks. The intention of my lord is to send her to Italy, or to England, to his sister, for her education, that a brighter prospect of life may

* Professor Bamba acceded to this request, and he continued to write till the Ionian government prohibited all such correspondence, whether literary, moral or religious.

be opened for her, than could have been the case in her own barbarous and insensate country. He would wish her, however, to repose for a few months in the Islands, in order that she may learn a little Italian, and also wait for the summer before sending her onwards. If you remain in the island, he would wish to send her to you and your lady for a couple of months, it being well understood that the expense of her maintenance and education be placed to the account of my lord. I wish you to give me a speedy answer. Recommend me to the remembrance of our common friends, and believe me to be always

Your devoted servant,
(Signed PIETRO GAMBA.

DR. KENNEDY,
Cephalonia.

[From the Hon. COLONEL STANHOPE.]

Missolonghi, January 8th, 1824.

DEAR SIR,

You will excuse my taking the liberty of addressing you, when I inform you that the object is moral education and religious instruction.

The government here is making a grand progress towards civilization, but they require assistance.

The first measure of importance to be promoted, is moral education. To this end, I have formed here a committee of the most virtuous natives in the place, consisting of a president, secretary, and twelve members. These gentlemen have pledged themselves to meet frequently to further the diffusion of light. I have given them the best advice I could on the subject. If you could do anything towards the advancement of the measure, you would confer a lasting benefit on Greece.

The other measure of vast importance is that of affording them a knowledge of the Scriptures. The first and safest step to be taken in this work is that of sending here a quantity of Bibles in modern Greek.

I doubt not but that you can afford, through the medium of your friends and societies in Europe, assistance towards the promotion of both these ends.

Lord Byron has great interest here, and has exercised it solely in doing good. His lordship desires his kindest remembrances by me.

I beg of you to address yourself either to Lord Byron, or to Dr. J. J. Meyer, on matters relative to books and education.

I am,

Your most humble servant,
(Signed) LEICESTER STANHOPE.

DR. KENNEDY.

Cephalonia.

[From the HON. COLONEL STANHOPE.]

Missolonghi, February 7th, 1825.

DEAR SIR,

AN answer is due to you for your very obliging letter. I do warmly sympathise in all its contents.

I am most happy to learn that you have written to Corfu and to Malta, requesting that Bibles may be sent to Greece. Should they arrive within two months, I should be glad to have some sent to the seat of the Greek government. After that, I shall be on my way back to England. One of our mechanics of the Arsenal brought with him five hundred New Testaments. I desired him to deliver them out with extreme caution. He, at my recommendation, placed fifty of them at the disposal of Dr. Meyer, who had promised me to distribute them to the most influential, who could read them in the villages and churches.

You are very good in taking such efficient measures to establish Lancasterian schools in Greece. All we require is, three or four good schoolmasters, with whom I would undertake to spread the system. In all the great towns it is my intention to establish, as here, a school committee of worthy men.

I wish it were possible to obtain some of the works that

Mr. S. Wilson has translated. I have written to him, but have received no answer.

I wish you could establish at Cephalonia* a good Lancasterian school for the supply of schoolmasters. This measure, united with a school-book society, is what is most wanted; but nothing can be done without Bibles in the mother tongue.

I intend to depart from this in about a week, for the purpose of proceeding and remaining for a time at the seat of the government. There I shall at all times be happy to receive your commands and instructions.

Our dispensary succeeds beyond all our expectation. It is maintained by the rich, who pay nothing for advice, and but a moderate price for their medicines.

I am your most obedient,

(Signed) LEICESTER STANHOPE.

DR. KENNEDY, &c. &c.
Cephalonia.

P. S, I wish you could get the enlightened and excellent Lord Guildford to take an active part in the promotion of our schools.

[From DR. MEYER, a Swiss Physician, settled in Missolonghi, and Editor of the *Greek Gazette*.]

Missolonghi, March 4th, 1824.

SIR,

I HAVE received your letter, from which I am confirmed in the sentiments that Colonel Stanhope caused me to form of you.

The box, with the religious and moral tracts, are at pres-

* There are Lancasterian schools for boys in all the Ionian Islands, and they appear to be conducted with strict attention. Government has not only given its patronage to these institutions, but has exhibited a particular interest in their success. Dr Politi, a protegee of Lord Guildford, was Inspector General. Since his lordship's death I am not sure who is the ostensible Director.

ent in the hands of Lord Byron, who will consign them to me to-day.

We feel here, perhaps more than in any other part of Greece, the necessity of imparting instruction, and that the only basis on which a positive liberty can be founded is that of religion and morality.

The inhabitants of the Koreli repose so much confidence in me, that they have entrusted to me the organizing of...*. After I had spoken to them of the important results that might ensue from the reading of the Bible and moral treatises, they have consented to form a society for the Bible, and for the establishment of a school. Many excellent patriots and Christians are united with me in committee, desirous that I should endeavour, in the first place, to disperse the Bible, and then attempt the formation of a school.

The Bible and treatises that I have received have been distributed to priests who are well informed, and to establishments which are termed a school: very pleasing results have been witnessed, as a priest (of Kraveri) thus writes me.

"I received your Bibles on Sunday last before the church, and I commenced reading under a plane-tree. I was surrounded by men, women, and children. 'What book is that you are reading?' they inquired. I explained to them what it was, and for my first public lecture, I selected Christ's sermon on the Mount. The people were astonished at hearing words to which they had never before listened; and I was compelled to promise that I would read the Gospel to them every sabbath."

With respect to the school, I have fixed on the Lancastrian method as that which is likely to produce a more quick return than any other. In a short time I hope I shall have two masters who will be capable of instructing children. The funds for this institution are almost all gained by subscription, and other assured means, for a house, a garden, for the payment of the masters, &c.

This slight recital will enable you to perceive that it is my intention to lay a moral and religious basis, as conductor of the Greek Chronicle, and as one of the editors of the Greek Telegraph, which in a few days will make its appearance. I am perfectly convinced that religion and morality alone can adorn, or form the liberty so much desired by the Greeks: without these enlightening graces, the Greeks

would never be worthy of so great a good ; which, except united with religion and morality, would prove as a sword in the hands of a child.

Books for education and for moral purposes, even in different languages would be very desirable. May I entreat you to procure for me as many as you possibly can ?

I shall have the honour of writing to you more fully in my next letter. Excuse me in the meantime. Accept of my most distinguished consideration.

(Signed)

T. J. MEYER.

Editor of the Greek Chronicle.

DR. KENNEDY,
Cephalonia.

[FROM DR. BRUNO, Physician to LORD BYRON.]

Missolonghi March, 3rd, 1824.

DEAR SIR,

You judge rightly in writing to me in English, which I pray you to continue in your pleasing correspondence, which besides being agreeable in other respects, serves me as a powerful stimulus to make more rapid progress in a language so useful in every point of view.

I shall write to you in Italian, because it is more easy for me. The wise counsels which you give me in your letter cannot be dictated by greater prudence than knowledge of the disease to which our noble Lord Byron is subject. They almost coincide with those which I have suggested to him, and which he puts in practice. I do not find, however at present, so great and imperious a necessity as should induce him to abandon Greece ; 1st, because the air here is perhaps better than that of the islands. 2nd, because it appears to me that my lord is daily accustomed to the repeated motives of disturbance which the Greeks cause him. Hence the effect will be always lessening, and epileptic convulsions as in the first attack, not having again appeared, there is reason to hope that they will not return during the absence of the physical causes, and the diminution of the moral.

With respect to the removal of the first, my lord shows himself most docile, but his temperament and his mind,—which rests not even during sleep,—prevent him from banishing themoral causes, to diminish which, there remains no other means than to induce him to use much exercise on horseback or at sea; this at present cannot be done, in consequence of the nature of the streets, and the bad weather.

My lord principally, and all of us in his house, are fully converted to Methodism *, and you can count in me one of your most warm proselytes, who wishes only for opportunities to prove it to you. I do not speak of the malady of his lordship, who is at present well, for want of time, and because I have written the history to our friend Dr. Scott, who can shew it to you.

Here we labour strenuously for the advancement of the Greek cause; and we also make every effort to prepare their minds, that the principles to which you have converted us may be extended, and prosper with rapidity. Endeavour to maintain yourself in good health. Preserve your attachment to me, favour me with presenting my most respectful compliments to your amiable consort, and believe me to be

Your affectionate friend,

(Signed) FRANCISCO BRUNO.

DR. KENNEDY,

Argostoli, Cephalonia.

* The above sentence may appear to partake somewhat of mystification; but foreigners attach no ludicrous associations with the term Methodism; they are prepared to view it in its strict and legitimate sense; of this I could adduce examples. The Marchesa d'E., speaking of the sect, for it is applied to all serious persons, expressed a fear lest the Metodisti should introduce strange observances. "Who are they?" I asked. "In verità, I do not know," she answered; "but the English call so and so (naming the persons) Metodisti, though I see nothing in them, but that they are more devout and benevolent than the rest." Thus whatever stigma is attached to the name is affixed by the English themselves.

Though oddly expressed, I am certain Dr. Bruno writes in all seriousness.

[From DR. BRUNO, Physician, to Lord Byron.]

Zante, May 18th, 1824.

DEAR SIR,

I CONGRATULATE you on your project of publishing the religious conversations which you had with the honourable Lord Byron, of excellent memory; but I regret that I am not able to give further information respecting his intentions about Methodism, except that he was not decidedly attached to it, although he manifested esteem for it, and especially for you, whom he considered as one of the most honest and excellent men that can be found.

I would tell you rather, that there scarcely passed a day which was not marked by some act of beneficence, in which the poor and the unhappy ever presented themselves at his lordship's door without being certain of having the balm of consolation; that among the other fine qualities which adorned his lordship, predominated that of a compassionate heart, and a feeling beyond measure for the miserable and the unfortunate, and that his purse was always open in their favour. It is unnecessary for me to speak of his restoring to their country those Turks, amounting to twenty-five; this was entirely his own work: nor shall I notice to you the expenses he incurred, or his intentions with respect to the education of that little Turk and her mother, whom you were to have relieved, but who unfortunately wished to return to Prevesa, where the father of the child was. When any poor person was seriously sick, either by a fall or fracture, or other causes, my lord, without being asked, immediately sent me to these unhappy people to cure them, furnished them with medicines, and every other necessary assistance. He was one of the first in Missolonghi who gave money for establishing an hospital. Lord B. loved justice above all things, and would not tolerate a falsehood even in jest. He was endowed with a sincerity without example, and was tolerant in the highest degree in matters of religion. His benefactions in Cephalaria you know sufficiently well. Those numerous instances of benevolence exhibited in Italy, and in other places, you will learn from Fletcher, and from Count Gamba. With respect to the reading of the

sacred Scriptures, it appears to me that he was occupied with it, since he kept it along with other books on his study table. I cannot tell you more, but I will confirm the truths which you shall write on this high personage, in order to increase his fame and glory.

With pleasure, however, I inform you, that you were the fortunate cause that I read and studied the New Testament profoundly, and acquired a great disposition towards conversion to Methodism. Nevertheless I am not yet entirely a Methodist with regard to the belief, but I am so perfectly, and among the most enthusiastic, for its political tendency to the public good.* Since I see in Methodism the united advantages of all other religions; and that which is of the greatest importance, and in which the churches with all their pomp, their monks, their priests, their religious ceremonies and other things are deficient—which, moreover, cost the people immense sums, that employed in other better work would be productive of the greatest advantage to the cause of humanity; that in this ("*System—i. e. Methodism*") is wanting that numerous herd of friars, and priests, and other like drones, which form an *imperium in imperio*, and who, by all the means in their power, protect tyrants.

These men would lose much of their power, if the people were all Methodists, and *vice versâ*, people would make a vast acquisition towards liberty, by believing in the pure Gospel. On this account, especially, I have made other Methodists, and am busily occupied in increasing the number; and those whom I cannot persuade, or sufficiently convince with reasoning, and with proofs from the sacred Scriptures, and from the New Testament, I lead to Methodism by this political way, so beautiful and so good. But that which is most curious, is, that whilst I wish to convince others, and to bring them, as you call it, "into the good way," I convince even myself more deeply, and become

* Be it remembered that this term is his own, for I do not think Dr. K. ever used it; it is a word imported by the English among the Italians and other foreigners. It is evidently here used in a favourable sense, though too often the English apply it in ridicule of those who will not go to the same excess with themselves: lately, however, it has been found not emphatic enough, and the word "*Saint*" is now introduced to supply the defect. In the mind of Dr. Bruno, the term Methodism, or strict discipline, does not appear to be associated with any thing narrow, vulgar, or bigoted; indeed his admiration for the system, as he called it, is fully expressed.

the more ardent for this noble and advantageous reformation.

I do not speak to you of the death of the worthy Lord Byron, in order not to irritate a wound which is sufficiently painful of itself. Let it suffice to mention, that there were two powerful causes of his death. A young English doctor, who, in order to make his court and please my lord, (who was repugnant to blood-letting,) opposed himself always to my warm entreaties, that blood should be drawn, and ridiculed the threat and the prognostics which I made to Lord B. of his certain death, if he did not permit himself to be copiously bled. The other, an individual in a responsible charge, (but most vulgar in his condition, and manners, and customs,) who two or three times a day visited Lord B., always repeating to him, "Do not listen to the physicians, eat, drink, do not let them touch your blood, and do what I tell you, I who am better than all the doctors"—this person is now *fled* from Missolonghi. In my heavy grief I shall always have the sweet consolation of knowing, that every individual of his lordship's household, and all those who approached his Excellency, make ample testimony, and render me justice; as do, indeed, the English doctor, and two other consulting physicians, who all affirm that if my lord had adhered to my treatment alone, he would have been still certainly in life. The sad termination of Lord B.'s disease, and the most manifest signs of inflammation which were found on the brain, fully verify my prognostics; while on the other hand, the three other doctors were greatly astonished at the gross mistake which they had made in the diagnosis, cure, and prognosis of the disease, which they always asserted to be good, even to the last moments: so that whilst I cried that my lord was in a profound coma and near his end, they were so blind that they said he was in a deep sleep, which would prove useful to the salutary crisis which they went on prognosticating.

Accept my compliments, and present the same to your respected consort; to Mr. Muir, and to Count Delladecima, to whom I pray you to read these few things respecting the malady of my lord. May you continue in good health,

preserve for me your friendship, and believe me to be always

Your very affectionate and sincere friend,

(Signed) FRANCISCO BRUNO.*

DR. KENNEDY.

[FROM MR. MILLINGEN, an English Surgeon resident in Greece.]

Missolonghi, July 12th, 1824.

SIR,

I WAS very ill when I had the honour of receiving your letter. The symptoms of my illness were so violent, that they totally prevented my perusing, much more answering it; and the weakness occasioned by my malady was so extreme, the relapses so frequent, that I have been, until now, totally unable to write. To you, fortunately, these circumstances, Sir, must prove indifferent, since I have it not in my power to tell you much respecting Lord Byron's last moments, as far your letter alludes to. He died, to say the melancholy truth, like a man without religion. Truth also obliges me to say, that although I saw him almost daily, I never could perceive any change in his religious opinions. Allow me to remain,

Sir, yours obediently,

(Signed)

JULIUS MILLINGEN.

DR. KENNEDY,

Argostoli, Cephalonia.

* Since the above letter went to the press, I received the following intelligence:—"You have heard, I presume, of Dr. Bruno's complete conversion. This, he told me, was effected in Switzerland. I have been informed, by a relation of Lord C.'s, that he died at Napoli two years ago." The writer adds, "I hope Moore will redeem Bruno's character from a charge of mismanagement of Lord Byron's case. I can prove from Bruno's own letters, that he did everything, and suggested everything a good and able physician could have suggested,—but he was over-ruled by ignorance and obstinacy."—1830.

[FROM MR. FLETCHER, the Valet of LORD BYRON.]

Lazaretto, (Zante,) May 19th, 1824.

HONOURED SIR,

I AM extremely sorry I have not had it in my power to answer the kind letter with which you have honoured me, before this, being so very unwell, and so much hurt at the severe loss of my much-esteemed and ever-to-be-lamented lord and master. You wish me, Sir, to give you some information in respect of my lord's manner and mode of life after his departure from Cephalonia, which I am very happy to say was that of a good Christian, and one who fears and serves God, in doing all the good that lay in his power, and avoiding all evil. And his charity was always without bounds; for his kind and generous heart could not see nor hear of misery, without a deep sigh, and striving in which way he could serve and soften misery, by his liberal hand, in the most effectual manner. Were I to mention one hundredth part of the most generous acts of charity, it would fill a volume. And in regard to religion, I have every reason to think the world has been much to blame in judging too rashly on this most serious and important subject; for in the course of my long services of more than twenty years, I have always, on account of the situation which I have held, been near to his lordship's person, and by these means have it my power to speak to facts which I have many times witnessed, and conversations which I have had on the subject of religion. My lord has more than once asked me my opinion on his lordship's life, whether I thought him, as represented in some of the daily papers, as one devoid of religion, &c., &c., words too base to mention. My lord moreover said, "Fletcher, I know you are what at least they call a Christian; do you think me exactly what they say of me?" I said, "I do not, for I had too just reasons to believe otherwise." My lord went on this subject, saying, "I suppose, because I do not go to the church, I cannot any longer be a Christian; but he said moreover, a man must be a great beast, who cannot be a good Christian without always being in the church. I flatter myself I am not inferior in regard to my duty to many of them; for if I can

do no good, I do no harm, which I am sorry to say I cannot say of all churchmen." At another time, I remember it well, being a Friday, I, at the moment not remembering it, said to my lord, "Will you have a fine plate of beccaficas?" My lord, half in anger, replied, "Is not this Friday? How could you be so extremely lost to your duty, to make such a request to me!" At the same time saying, a man that can so much forget his duty as a Christian, who cannot for one day in seven forbid himself of these luxuries, is no longer worthy to be called a Christian. And I can truly say, for the last eight years and upwards, his lordship always left that day apart for a day of abstinence; and many more and more favourable proofs of a religious mind, than I have mentioned, which hereafter, if I find it requisite to the memory of my lord, I shall undoubtedly explain to you. You, Sir, are aware that my lord was rather a man to be wondered at in regard to some passages in the Holy Scriptures, which his lordship did not only mention with confidence, but even told you in what chapter and what verse you would find such and such things, which I recollect filled you with wonder* at the time, and with satisfaction.

I remember, even so long back as when his lordship was at Venice, several circumstances, which must remove every doubt, even at the moment when my lord was more gay than at any time after; in the year 1817, I have seen my lord repeatedly on meeting or passing any religious ceremonies which the Roman Catholics have in their frequent processions, while at Nivia, near Venice, dismount his horse and fall on his knees, and remain in that posture till the procession had passed; one of his lordship's grooms, who was backward in following the example of his lordship, my lord gave a violent reproof to. The man in his defence said, "I am no Catholic, and by this means thought I ought not to follow any of their ways." My lord answered very sharply upon the subject, saying, "Nor am I a Catholic but a Christian; which I should not be, were I to make the same objections which you make; for all religions are good when properly attended to, without making it a mask to cover villainy, which I am fully persuaded is too often the case." With respect to my lord's late publications, which

* I would suggest that the wonder experienced by Dr. K. was caused by the sad illustration of Lord B.'s forcible and energetic line—

"The tree of knowledge is not that of life."

you mention, I am fully persuaded, when they come to be more fully examined, the passages which have been so much condemned may prove something dark; but I am fully persuaded you are aware how much the public mind has been deceived in the true state of my lamented master. A greater friend to Christianity could not exist, I am fully convinced, in his daily conduct, not only making the Bible his first companion in the morning, but in regard to whatever religion a man might be of, whether Protestant, Catholic, friar, or monk, or any other religion, every priest, of whatever order, if in distress, was always most liberally rewarded, and with larger sums than any one who was not a minister of the gospel, I think, [would give.] I think every thing, combined together, must prove, not only to you, Sir, but to the public at large, that my lord was not only a Christian, but a good Christian. How many times has my lord said to me, "Never judge a man by his clothes, nor by his going to church, being a good Christian. I suppose you have heard that some people in England say that I am no Christian? I said, "Yes; I have certainly heard such things by some public prints; but I am fully convinced of their falsehood." My lord said, "I know I do not go to the church like many of my accusers; but I have my hopes I am not less a Christian than they; for God examines the inward part of the man, not outward appearances." Sir, in answer to your enquires, I too well know your character as a true Christian and a gentleman to refuse giving you any further information respecting what you asked of me. In the first place, I have seen my lord frequently read your books, and moreover I have more than once heard my lord speak in the highest terms of and receive you in the most friendly manner possible, whenever you could make it convenient to come to Metaxata; and in regard to the Bible, I think I only may refer to you, Sir, how much his lordship must have studied it, by being able to refer to almost any passage in Scripture; and with what accuracy, to mention even the chapter and verse in any part of the Scripture. Now, had my lord not been a Christian, this book would most naturally have been thrown aside, and of course he would have been ignorant of so many fine passages which I have heard him repeat at intervals, when in the midst of his last and fatal illness,—I mean after he began to be delirious. My lord repeated, "I am not afraid to die," and,—in as composed a way as a child, without moving head

or foot, or even a gasp—went as if he was going into the finest sleep, only opening his eyes, and then shutting them again. I cried out “I fear his lordship is gone!”—when the doctors felt his pulse, and said it was too true. I must say I am extremely miserable to think my lord might have been saved, had the doctors done their duty, by either letting blood in time, or by stating to me that my lord would not allow it, and at the same time to tell me the truth of the real state of my lord’s illness; but instead of that, they deceived me with the false idea that my lord would be better in two or three days, and thereby prevented me from sending to Zante or Cephalonia, which I repeatedly wished to do, but was prevented by them—I mean the doctors—deceiving me: but I dare say you have heard every particular about the whole; if not, I have no objection to give every particular during his illness.

I hope, Sir, your kind intentions may be crowned with success in regard to the publication which you mean to bring before the British public. I must beg your pardon when I make one remark, and which I am sure your good sense will forgive me for, when I say, you know too well the tongues of the wicked, and in particular of the great,—and how glad some would be to bring into ridicule any one that is of your religious and good sentiments of a future state, which every good Christian ought to think his first and greatest duty. For myself, I should be only too happy to be converted to the truth of the gospel. But at this time I fear it would be doing my lord more harm than good, in publishing to the world that my lord was converted, which to that extent of religion my lord never arrived; but at the same time was a friend to both religion and religious people, of whatever religion they might be; and to none more justly deserving, than Dr. Kennedy.

I remain, honoured Sir,

With the greatest respect,

Your most obedient and very humble Servant,

(Signed)

WM. FLETCHER.

DR. KENNEDY, &c. &c.

Cephalonia.

[FROM COUNT GAMBA.]

Zante, May 21, 1824.

DEAR SIR,

I CANNOT but approve your intention about the little work which you propose to publish ; because I am persuaded that your only object is to place in a clear light the character of your illustrious compatriot, my ever-to-be-lamented friend, Lord Byron. It is known that many and severe calumnies have been spread against his true character, by inconsiderate and evil-disposed persons. Hence I esteem it incumbent on those who knew his mind, and enjoyed his friendship, to vindicate his memory by declaring the truth. Panegyric is not the art of eloquence. The truth, and the truth alone, is necessary to dissipate the cloud gathered by insidious, ignorant, invidious, and base passions. His character will rise, clear and sublime as his genius, provided it be purged from this fog.

With greater calm of mind, and more leisure, I shall study to satisfy this debt towards my illustrious friend ; meantime, I cannot but rejoice in seeing persons of your merit, and moved by pure motives, intent upon the same object.

You ask me for a minute and full account of all his actions and opinions concerning religion ; and also of all his acts of charity and beneficence, known to me. It would be a long and serious task for any one to pretend to satisfy this demand entirely, especially with respect to the second part ; but as far as the limits of a letter will permit, and memory aid me, I shall endeavour to satisfy you.

In my opinion, the sentiments of his lordship on religion were not fixed, that is, he was not held more to one religious and Christian sect than another ; but his profound sentiments were religious, and he professed a deep respect for the doctrines of Jesus Christ, as the source of virtue and felicity. With respect to the recondite mysteries of faith, his mind was involved in doubts, which, however, he had a desire to dissipate as troublesome, and on this account he never shunned conversations on this subject, as you well know,

I have had occasion to observe him often in those situa-

tions in which the most involuntary and most sincere sentiments of the mind are unfolded,—in serious danger of the stormy sea, or otherwise,—in the contemplation of a fine and tranquil night of summer,—and in the midst of a solitude,—and I have observed his emotions and his thoughts to be deeply tinged with religion.

The first time that I had a conversation with him on this subject, was at Ravenna, my native country, about four years ago, while we were riding on horseback in an extensive, solitary wood of pines. The scene invited to religious meditation. It was a fine day in spring. "How," he said, "raising our eyes to heaven, or directing them to the earth, can we doubt of the existence of God?—or how, turning them to what is within us, can we doubt that there is something within us more noble and more durable than the clay of which we are formed? Those who do not hear, or are unwilling to listen to those feelings, must necessarily be of a vile nature." I wished to answer him with all those reasons which the superficial philosophy of Helvetius, his disciples, and his masters have taught. He answered me with strong arguments and profound eloquence; and I perceived that obstinate contradiction on this subject, forcing him to reason upon it, gave him pain. This discourse made a deep impression on me.

Many times, and in various circumstances, I have heard him confirm the same sentiments; and he always seemed to me to be deeply convinced of their truth. Last year, in Genoa, when we were preparing for our journey to Greece, he was accustomed to converse with me for two or three hours each evening alone, seated on the terrace of his palace in Albano, in the fine evenings of spring, whence there opened a magnificent view of this superb city and the adjoining sea. Our conversation turned almost always on Greece, for which we were so soon to depart, or on religious subjects. In various ways I heard him confirm the sentiments which I have already mentioned to you. "Why then, I said to him, "have you gained to yourself the name of impious, and enemy of all religious belief from your writings?" He answered, "They are not understood, and are ill interpreted by the malignant. My object is only to combat hypocrisy, which I abhor in every thing, and particularly in the matter of religion; and which now, unfortunately, appears to me to be prevalent. I seek to unveil the vices of the vile, interested views which so many cover under a hy-

pocritical mantle, and for this, those to whom you allude wish to render me odious, and make me to be believed an impious person, and a monster of incredulity," &c.

For the Bible he had always a particular respect. It was his custom to have it always on his study table, particularly during these last months; and you well know how familiar it was to him, since sometimes he knew how to correct your inaccurate citations*.

Fletcher can have informed you about his very best dispositions in his last moments. He often repeated subjects from the Testament; and when, at his last moments, he had in vain attempted to make known his pleasure with respect to his daughter, and others most dear to him in life, and when, on account of the wanderings of his mind, he could not succeed in making himself understood, Fletcher answered him, "Nothing is more at my heart than to execute your wishes; but, unfortunately, I have not been able to comprehend scarce the half of them." "Is it possible?" he replied. "Alas! it is too late. How unfortunate? Not my will, but the will of God be done!" There remained to him only a few intervals of reason, and interruptions of delirium,—the effect a determination of blood to the head.

He often expressed to me the contempt which he felt for those called "*esprits forts*," a sect of ignorant egotists, incapable of any generous action; and hypocrites themselves, in their affected contempt of every faith.

He professed a complete toleration, and a particular respect for every sincere conviction. He would have deemed it an unpardonable crime to detach any one persuaded of the truth, from his belief, although it might be tinged with absurdity, because he believed it could lead to no other end than to render him an infidel.

What were his opinions at Cephalonia, you know as well as I, and better. He interested himself in your conversations, as a man who always loved to investigate the truth; and though he was satisfied with many of your opinions, yet I must confess to you, that it does not appear that he was able to agree with you in all.

He said to me one day at Metaxata, that after a long con-

* It should be remembered, that the Bible which Lord B. used was differently arranged to that to which Dr. K. was accustomed. Dr. K. has alluded to this circumstance; and hence it was that several, who were merely occasional auditors, imagined that Lord B. corrected the inaccurate citations of Dr. K.

versation with you, he asked you at last "What more do you wish of me, in order to reckon me a good Christian?" "To kneel down, and pray to God." He exclaimed, "This is too much dear doctor."

When in Missolunghi, he took care that the Bible and the other sacred books, sent by your pious societies should be dispersed; and he wished that the advantage which the Greeks would derive from the spread and study of those books should be made public in the gazette.

I am certain, however, that you will take care not to make him appear a devotee, because this would be contrary to truth, in the same degree as that which would make him an enemy to all religion.

If we contemplate his acts of charity and beneficence,—which, indeed are the true substance,—a volume would not be sufficient for me to narrate only those of which I have been a witness.

I knew in some cities of Italy, various decent families who had fallen into poverty—with whom he had no relation—to whom he has sent assistance secretly, to the extent of more than two hundred dollars; nor did those people ever learn the name of their benefactor.

Three years ago, at Florence, an honourable mother of an English family became the victim of ruinous persecution, for having seriously defended the honour of one protected by her, against the seduction of some infamous persons; she was reduced to extremity, and had recourse to Lord B., who was in Pisa; this woman was as much unknown to him as were her persecutors. He gave her such support as was sufficient to render vain all the plots of her infamous enemies. He was in Pisa also when a terrible tempest sunk a number of vessels in the harbour of Genoa, and reduced to beggary a number of families in comfortable circumstances. He despatched secretly more than three hundred dollars for these unfortunate people.

One day riding near the wall of Genoa, along the sea, a captain of a Corsican ship met us;—his ship was wrecked, and himself without bread. Lord B., invited him to his house, and rendered him such effectual assistance, that he was able to return to his country, and engage again in his employment.

Another day, we rode ten miles out of Genoa, when we met two people in the most destitute condition; their deportment was noble and proud, and by their features they seem-

ed natives of Germany. Two days afterwards they appeared by accident at his lordship's house, seeking alms. They, were two Germans, fugitives from Greece, who, persecuted without shelter, without bread, without shoes, wished to return to their country, Wirtemberg; they had supported themselves by begging as far as Genoa, and were reduced almost to despair. My lord furnished them with every means to enable them to reach their home. In short, I could relate many hundreds of such actions.

I do not refer you to those which occurred after his arrival in Greece. At Cephalonia, how many families of Moreotes and of Sulliotés were maintained by him!

At Missolonghi, he furnished the means of founding an hospital for the benefit of the poor; independently of the large sums which he advanced to the government, and to the city of Missolonghi, for the army and for the navy; and I can assure you, that without his assistance, those most interesting parts of western Greece would have been lost—not from the power of the Turks—but by the Greeks themselves

And what did he not desire to do, if he had not been carried away so unseasonably for Greece,—for the world,—and for his friends?

His expedition to Greece, which after so many other sacrifices, cost him his life, was it not the most generous and beneficent action which could be undertaken by a Christian? Was he a man to cringe to fortune, to power or to glory?

And how great an influence his coming had on the safety of Grèce, in spite of his premature death, I shall some time or other demonstrate to you.

One of his first objects was to inspire both parties with more humane sentiments. You see when occasion was offered to him, he ransomed women and children, and sent them in liberty to their country. He saved some Turks, not without serious disturbance and personal danger, from the sanguinary hands of some Greek corsairs.

When a Turkish brig struck on the coast of Missolonghi, and it was attempted to make prisoners of the crew, he promised a dollar for each man that was saved, and in proportion for the officers. But they were able to make their escape in the boats of other turkish vessels.

It may be doubted whether he was a rigid Christian with respect to the opinions of faith, and those little points de-

manded as their sequence. But we may be allowed to ask those who, with so little humility, boast of their severe observances of the Christian laws, in what manner have their works, even in proportion to their means, merited for them that name, which Lord Byron's have done, whom they accuse of impiety?

With respect to the little Turkish girl, you know well the reasons which had led him to assist, and his dispositions with regard to her. Besides this, there was found among his writings a detailed note of his intentions. On this account I fulfilled my duty in conducting her to a neutral and free territory, in order the better to know her will. She was disposed to come to you in Cephalonia, (as was known to you,) at least until an answer from my lord's executors could be obtained. But there arrived so many entreaties from Yusuff Pasha, and from her father, who is his secretary, that at last she has decided to return, together with her mother, to her parent. I endeavoured to dissuade her by every argument, but in vain; she always answered, "*I have lost my adopted father, Lord Byron; now I do not wish to fly from my true father.*" There arrived here a Turkish brig with her father on board, and there was a formal request from Yusuff Pasha to the government, that is, to Colonel Stovin; so that, she fully consenting, we were obliged to give her up, and she departed six days ago.

The following is an extract from a letter of Lord Byron's to his sister, found among his papers:—"I have been obtaining the release of about nine and twenty Turkish prisoners, men, women, and children; and have sent them, at my own expense, home to their friends; but one, a pretty girl of nine years of age, named Hato, or Hatagee, has expressed a strong wish to remain with me, or under my care, and I have nearly determined to adopt her, if I thought that Lady B. would let her come to England as a companion to Ada, (they are about the same age,) and we could safely provide for her; if not, I can send her to Italy for education. She is very lively and quick, with great black, oriental eyes, and Asiatic features. All her brothers were killed in the revolution. Her mother wishes to return to her husband, who is at Prevesa; but says, that she would rather trust the child to me in the present state of the country. Her extreme youth and sex have hitherto saved her life; but there is no saying what might occur in the course of the war, (and in such a war!) I shall therefore commit her to the charge of an English

lady in the islands for the present. The child herself has the same wish, and seems to have a decided character for her age. You can mention this matter, if you think proper. I wish her to be respectably educated and treated; and if my years and all things be considered, I presume it would be difficult to conceive me to have any other view."

Thus he made his dispositions, and such were his intentions, until they changed, from causes which I have stated to you.

With respect to your using my name, I confide entirely in your discretion. I have spoken with the Reverend Mr. Wilson, to whom I have communicated the same sentiments which I now write to you. Believe me to be

Your devoted servant,

(Signed)

PIETRO GAMBA

DR. KENNEDY, &c. &c. &c.

Argostoli, Cephalonia.

[FROM LORD BYRON TO COLONEL D.]

October 9, 1823.

DEAR COLONEL,

THE pelisse fits as if it had been made for me, excepting that it is a little too short in the sleeves, which is not of any consequence.

I shall therefore, with many acknowledgments, accept and wear it,—somewhat, I fear, in the mode of the ass in the lion's skin in the fable; or, rather in the hope which the Indians entertain when they wear the spoils of a redoubted enemy, viz. that his good qualities may be transferred to the new possessor with his habiliments. But these being the garments of a friend, may, I trust, be still more propitious.

I send you some papers, but I doubt that you have later ones; however, they can serve the mess as duplicates: the 29th and 30th are among them; but the 26th and 27th (28th being Sunday) are not yet arrived.

Believe me ever and truly,

Yours affectionately,

NOEL BYRON.

COLONEL D.

Argostoli.

[FROM LORD BYRON.]

October 23, 1823.

DEAR COLONEL,

I HAVE to pray you to permit the regimental smith to shoe my horses, when he can be spared from duty.

I was very sorry that I missed you the other day, and yet I know not how, for I rode out on the road to Argostoli. The day before yesterday I was in town, and with the intention of intruding on you; but I was detained by business till too late.

The Greek provisional government has sent over one of their agents to conduct me to the residence of the said government. Brown and Trelawny, having been better treated than others, probably give a much more favourable account than we have yet had, from other quarters, of the state of the government and country. For my own part, I shall endeavour to judge for myself, and expect to set out early in November, according to the desire of the President and his brethren.

We have had another earthquake here (somewhat smarter than the former,*) in the night. It threw down and broke a "lambico," or filtering-machine for water, (I really have forgotten the proper term in our language but it is for a drip-stone to clear water,) and we are bounden to Providence for not having our bones broken instead of crockery.

Believe me ever and truly, your obliged
And sincere friend and servant,
NOEL BYRON.

COLONEL D.
Argostoli.

P. S.—Count Pietro Gamba salutes you, and is doing his best to get well again; with what success, the doctors know best.

* On the former occasion he said, "I ran out of the room as fast as my legs would carry me, and left Gamba behind; but when I got down I saw Gamba before me, for he had jumped over the stair case. I then thought it high time to return; and we found Count Delladicima sitting very tranquilly, wondering what had become of us." He laughed as he mentioned the circumstance.

[To the RESIDENT of ITHACA.]

Cephalonia, August 26, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE to acknowledge your very kind and flattering letter, and am truly glad that you and Mrs. K. have not been so tired of my company as I feared. The few days which I passed with you in your beautiful island, are amongst the whitest in my existence; and as such I shall recollect them,—not without the hope of our meeting again, sometime, and somewhere.

I have given directions to Messrs. Kornologni (or Corialeagno) to furnish the Moreote refugees with every necessary for their decent subsistence at my expense—as before proposed by myself; and I have also (as he may, or should have apprized you) directed two hundred and fifty dollars to be placed at your disposal, for the other families now in Ithaca, to be distributed to the most deserving, or the most necessitous, in such proportions as your better experience and knowledge of their circumstances may suggest. The various demands upon me have made me limit the sum lower than I could wish, but it may be a little help to some in the meantime, and we may perhaps do more by-and-by.

I hope that Mrs. K. has not suffered from her travels, she is the most intrepid craigs-woman (as the Scotch call it) I have met with. Count P. Gamba, and the rest of the party, beg their best thanks both to her and to you; and uniting in every good wish, I ever am,

Your obliged
And faithful servant,
NOEL BYRON

CAPTAIN K.,
Ithaca.

P. S. I do not include the Moreote family's debt in the subscription. I intend to pay that on a separate account; but I forget the amount.

[Dal CòNTE Gamba.]

Missolunghi, 10 del 1824.

PREGMO. SIGNORE,

DALL Hon. Colonello Stanhope avrete intest il desiderio lodevole, e la buona speranza che s' ha di introdurre e propagare la civilizzazione fra questi popoli per mezzo delle sacre carte, se il Governo della Grecia libera sarà affidato a quelle mani che i buoni sperano; e se Lord Byron conserverà quell' influenza che la sua generosità gli ha meritata, io spero di poter cooperare in qualche modo a questa pia opera, e lo farò certo con tutto il piacere. Io sono intimamente persuaso che non vi sia un miglior mezzo per sradicare la vile superstizione, e la barbarie che accieca questi popoli senza precipitarli in tutti i mali che vengono dal contrario eccesso,—cioè dall' ateismo,—che la propagazione della luce evangelica. Ma prima che ciò possa produrre qualche sensibile effetto, vi sono molti pericoli da scampare, e molti ostacoli da vincere, il che si può conseguire per altre vie. La direzione di un giornale affidata a persone di buona volontà e buon' intelletto parmi la più efficace. Quì si è cominciata una gazetta in Greco, e presto seguirà una compagna in Italiano. Per il Greco principalmente si ha gran penuria di corretti e intelligenti scrittori. Credo che il Professor Vamba sia uno dei migliori fra i Greci, e niuno parrebbe-mi più adattato di lui per un tale impegno importantissimo. Ma finora non potremmo offrirgli una situazione che equivalga a quella in cui è stabilito: converrebbe che il suo caldo patriottismo vi supplisse per la massima parte. Ma forse non è lontano il tempo in cui potremo invitarlo senza comprometterci: e intanto, se non gli dispiacesse di inviare qualche articolo Greco alla gazetta di Missolunghi saria cosa gratissima al Governo di quì, non che a Lord Byron. Io vi prego, caro Signore Kennedy, di ossequiarlo per parte nostra, e di comunicare le sue intenzione.

Avrete intesto qualcosa delle nostre avventure? Le mie particolarmente furono alquanto romantici che. Sono stato per pacinque dì prig ioniero *Jussuf Pashá*, con non piccolo pericolo al primo momento; giacchè la spaventa immaginazione

turca gli fece pensare nestro bastimentaccio per un burlotto, —poiben trattato—infine libero senza verun danno.

Vi prego di presentare i miei ossequj alla vostra signora, e di credermi

Umilmo. Devomo. Servo.
(Sottoscritto) PIETRO GAMBA

[Dal CONTE GAMBA.]

Missolunghi 24 Febbraio, 1824.

PREGMO. SIG. DOTTORE,

LA mia liberazione fu veramente romanzesca, e la maggior prova che si possa avere si è, che niuno di voi Cefaleni vuol credere all' istorie del mio Spiro Valsimachi. Ma qualunque sia la vostra incredulità è però tutto vero, perche tuto mi fu narrato dallo stesso Dey: ma non perciò voglio cedere tutto il merito al Signor Spiro,—ma pace a queste ciancie.

Noi abbiamo aspettato finora gli articoli del Prof. Vamba; ma finora in vano; ma voglio attribuirlo alla mancanxa d' incontri. Fate ogni vostro potere per sollicitarlo. Ora si pubblicherà una nuova gazetta in Inglese e Italiano, ect., in ogni lingua insomma, in cui ci saranno spediti gli articoli, intitolata il 'Telegrafo Greco.' L' oggetto di questa gazetta sarà di dar notizie esatte dello stato delle cose in Grecia alle nazioni d' Europa, che vi prendono interesse. Spero che vio vorrete contribuire qualche articolo; doverete diriggervi al Signor Maïr, Dire. della Cronica Greca. My lord impiega tutta la sua influenza per indurre i greci a sentimenti più cristiani, ed umani, anche verso loro nemici. Ottenne l' altro ieri due schiavi turchi che ha spediti in libertà alle case loro; e appresso 24 tra donne e fanciulli che si trovavano quì in miseria e schiavitù dal momento che scoppiò la rivoluzione. Una piccola fanciulla di 8 anni, incirca, che non desiderava di tornare fra i Turchi, è rimasta quì,—è di belle forme nella persona, e mostra ottime inclinazione d' animo. Saria veramente un tradimento nella sua età, in cui i pregiudizj nazionali, e le superstizioni non possono aver preso ra-

dice, di lasciarla in preda ai brutali costumi dei Musulmani. E l' intenzione di Mylord di spedirla in Italia, o in Inghilterra a sua sorella perchè sia educata, e gli si prepari un miglior sorte nella vita che avrebbe aspettare nei barbari e insensibili suoi paesi. Vorria però che restasse per qualche mese nelle isole per imperare un po' d' Italiano, e perchè venisse la buona stagione prima di spedirla innanzi. Se voi rimanete nelle isole, vorrebbe dare a voi, e alla vostra Signora questo disturbo per un pajo di mesi,—ben inteso che ogni spesa occorrente pel suo mantenimento, e la sua educazione saria a conto di Mylord; desidero una pronta risposta. Raccomandatemi alla memoria dei comuni amici, e credetemi sempre

Vostro Devmo. Servo,

(Sottoscritto) PIETRO GAMBA.

SIG. DOTTORE KENNEDY,
Argostoli.

[Dal DOTTORE BRUNO.]

Missolunghi, li 3 Marzo, 1824.

AMICO CARRISSIMO,

PENSASTE ottimamente a scrivermi in inglese, che vi prego continuare nella vostra per me piacevolissima corrispondenza, la quale oltre di essermi grata per una parte, mi serve anche di potente stimolo nel fare più rapidi progressi in tal lingua tanto utile per ogni riguardo.

Io poi vi scriverò in Italiano, perchè mi è più spedito. I seggi consigli che me esponeste nella vostra lettera non possono essere dettati da maggior prudenza e cognizione intorno le malattie a cui può soggiacere il nostro nobile Lord Byron. Essi presso a poco collimano con quelli che gli ho suggerito, e che mette in pratica. Non trovo però momentaneamente una tanto imperiosa necessità che debba abbandonare la Grecia; primo perchè l' aria di costà è forse migliore di quella delle isole; secondariamente, perchè pare che Mylord si vadi accostomando ai ripetuti motivi di disturbi cagionatigli dai Greci. e dalle circostanze, onde l' effetto ne

sarà sempre minore, e le convulsioni epilettiche comenel primo attacco non essendo più comparse, è sperabile con fondamento che non ritorneranno più mediante l' allontanamento delle cause fisiche, e la diminuzione delle morali.

Circa l' allontanamento delle prime, Mylord si dimostra docillissimo; ma il di lui temperamento, ed il di lui animo che non quietava nemmonono pendente il sonno, gli vietano di sbandire le cause morali, a diminuire le quali non vi vorrebbe altro che fargli fare molto moto, od esercizio a cavallo, od in mare, il che presentemente non è permesso per le strade, ed il tempo cattivo.

Mylord per il primo, e noi tutti della di lui casa, siamo pienamente convertiti al Metodismo, e voi potete contare in me uno de' vostr i più caldi proseliti che non brama che occasioni per di mostravelo. Non vi parlo della malattia di Mylord (che ora sta bene) per brevità del tempo, perche ne scrissi ora la storia all' amico Dottore Scott, che potrete vedere.

Qui si travaglia fortemente per far progredire la causa Greca, e facciamo anche ogni sforzo per preparare bene gli animi affinche i principj coi quali ci avete convertiti, possano estendersi, e prosperare rapidamente.

Procurate di mantenervi in ottima salute; conservatemi il vostro attaccamento, favorite di presentare i mie più rispettosi complimenti alla stimabilissima vostra Signora Consorte, ed abbiatemi qual

Vostro affezionatissimo Amico

(Sottoscritto FRANCESCO BRUNO.

All *Illmo.* Sig. DOTTORE KENNEDY,

Argostoli.

[Dal DOTTORE BRUNO.]

Zante, li 18 Maggio, 1824.

DOTTORE STIMATISSIMO,

MI congratulo assai con voi del progetto di pubblicare le conversazioni religiose che aveste coll' onorevole Lord Byron di buona memoria; ma spiace mi non potervi dare altre informazioni sopra le di lui intenzioni circa al Metodismo, fuorchè non vi era certamente attaccato, sebbene manifestasse per quello della stima, e specialmente alla vostra persona, che considerava una delle più oneste e brava che si possano trovare.

Vi dirò piuttosto che non passava quasi mai giorno che non fosse marcato da qualche atto di beneficenza, e che il povero, o l' infelice non si presentavano mai alla porta di Mylord senza essere certi che ricevevano il balsamo della consolazione; che predominava fra le altre belle di lui qualità, quella di un cuore compassionevole e sensibile fuor di misura per il misero e disgraziato, e che la sua borsa era sempre aperta in loro favore. E' inutile che vi parli del rinvio alla loro patria di quei Turchi e Turche in No. di 25, ciò che fu tutta quanta opera sua, ne vi accennerò le spese fatte, e le sue intenzioni per l' educazione di quella piccola Turca con sua madre, che voi dovevate ricevere, ma che sgraziatamente vollero ritornare in Prevasa dove si trova il padre della bambina. Quando qualche miserabile era gravemente infermo o per caduta, o fratture, od altri mali, Mylord senza esserne richiesto, subito mi mandava da quegli infelici per guarirli, somministrando loro medicine, ed ogni necessario soccorso. Fù uno dei primi in Missolunghi che diede qualche soccorso per stabilire un' ospedale. Mylord amava poi anche sommamente la giustizia, e non poteva tollerare la bugia nemmeno per scherzo; era dotato d' una sincerità senza pari, e tollerante al massimo grado circa gli affari di religione. Le di lui beneficenze fatte in Cefalonia a sufficienza le conoscete; quelle moltissime fatte in Italia, ed in altre parti, voi le conoscerete dal Mr. Fletcher, e dal Conte Gamba. Circa la lettura della sacra Bibbia, mi pare che se ne occupasse, poichè la teneva sul di lui tavolino da studio con altri suoi libri: altro non saprei dirvi che confermare

le verità che potrete scrivere sul conto dell' eccelso personaggio, onde accrescere sempre più la di lui fama, e gloria.

Con piacere poi vi informo che voi foste la fortunata cagione che io lessi e considerai il nuovo testamento da capo a fondo, ed acquistai una gran disposizione alla conversione al Metodismo. Tuttavia non sono ancora intieramente metodista riguardo alla credenza, ma lo sono perettamente, e dei più entusiasti per il fine politico del publico bene. Poiche vedo nel Metodismo tutto il vantaggio delle altre religioni, e più ancora quel che è della massima importanza, che mancano le chiese, ed il loro fasto, i frati, i preti, le cerimonie religiose, ed altre cose simili, che costano ai popoli somme immense, le quale impiegate in altre opere migitori, frutterebbero il più grande vantaggio alla umanità: e poi mancando quel numeroso ceto di frati, o preti, od altri simili oziosi che formano uno stato nello stato, e che proteggono con ogni loro mezzo i tiranni, questi perderebbero moltissimo della loro forza essendo i popoli metodisti, e vice versa i popoli acquirerrebbero immensamente verso la libertà credendo nel puro Evangelo.

Per questo motivo specialmente io feci altri metodisti, e sono impegnatissimo nell' accrescerne il numero; e quelli che non posso persuadere, o convincere abbastanza colla ragione, e colle prove della sacra scrittura. e del nuovo testamento, li conduco, al Metodismo per questa via politica, così bella, e così buona: ma quel che vi ha di curioso è questo, che mentre voglio convincere gli altri, e ridurli,—come voi dite “sulla buona strada,”—convinco pure me desimo, e mi riscaldo sempre più per questa così nobile, e vantaggiosa riforma.

Non vi parlo della morte del benemerito Lord Byron per non irritare di più un piega di già abbastanza per se dolorosa: mi basti il dirvi che due principalmente furono le cagioni della di lui morte. Un giovane dottore Inglese, che per fare la corte e piacere a Mylord, che ripugnava alle savate di sangue, si oppose sempre alle mie fervide istanze perchè si cavasse sangue, e metteva in ridicolo le minacce ed il pronostico che facevo a Mylord della certa sua mortese non si lasciava cavare sangue in abbondanza. L' altra è un' individuo in carica eminente, ma volgarissimo, di condizione, di maniere, e di costumi, il quale due o tre volte al giorno visitava Mylord, sempre repetendogli, non ascoltate i medici, mangiate, bevete, non lasciatevi toccare il sangue e fate ciò che vi dico io che son migliore di tutti i dottori. Costui ora è fug-

gito da Missolunghi. Fel Mio grave dolore io avrò sempre la dolce consolazione che ogni individuo della famiglia di Mylord, e tutti quelli che approssimavano S. E., fanno ampia testimonianza, e my rendono giustizia, come pure il dottore Inglese, e altri due medici consulenti, i quali tutti affermano che se Mylord aderiva alla sola mia cura, sarebbe ancora certamente nella vita. Il triste fine della malattia di Mylord, ed i più manifesti segni di infiammazione che si trovarono nel cervello, comprovarono pienamente i miei pronostici, mentre dall'altra parte gli altri tre dottori della cura, rimasero grandemente meravigliati, del più grosso sbaglio che abbiano potuto mai prendere nella diagnosi, nella cura, e nel pronostico della malattia che facevano sempre buono fine quasi agli ultimi istanti, talmente io gridava che Mylord era in un profondo sopore vicino della morte, ed essi così ciechi dicevano che era un sonno profondo, ed utile della crisi salutare, che andavano pronosticando.

Aggradite i miei complimenti, e favorite di presentarli alla vostra molto rispettabile consorte, al Dottore Miour, e al Conte Delladecima, ai quali vi prego di far leggere queste poche cose sulla malattia di Mylord. Procurate di mantenervi in buona salute, conservatemi la vostra amicizia e tenete mi sempre qual

Vostro affezionatissimo e sincero Amico,
(Sottoscritto) FRANCESCO BRUNO.

A molto Illustre Sig.

IL SIG. DOTTOR KENNEDY.

[Dal CONTE GAMBA]

Zante, 21 Maggio, 1824.

PREGNO. SIGNOR DOTTORE, .

Io non potrei che approvare la vostra intenzione intorno all'opuscolo che vi siete proposto di pubblicare—perché son persuaso che l'unico vostro oggetto sia di mettere in chiara luce il carattere dell'illustre vostro compatriotta—dell'in-eterno-da-me-lamentibile-amico, Lord Byron. E' conosciuto che molte, e gravi, calunie sono sparse contro al

suo raro carattere dagl' inconsiderati, e dai maligni, per cui io stimo debito di quelli che conobbero l' animo suo, e che goderon la sua amicizia, a vendicare la sua memoria, producendo il vero. Non si richiedè panegirico, ne arte di eloquenza,—la verità—sola la verità,—si vuole a dissipare tutta la nebbia radunata dalle insidiose, ignoranti, invidiose, e basse passioni. Il suo carattere splenderà chiaro, e sublime, come il suo genio, purché sia purgato de quella nebbia.

Con maggiore calma di spirito, e miglior agio, io mi studierò di sodisfare a questo debito verso l' illustre mio amico ; intanto io non posso che rallegrarmi in vedere persone del vostro merito, e mosse da puri motivi, intese a quel scopo.

Mi chiedete un racconto minuto, e pieno, di tutte le azioni, e opinioni sue, che riguardano la religione,—non che di tutti i suoi atti di carità, e di beneficenza, a me note. Sarebbe un lungo, a grave, impegno, se pretendessi di sodisfarvi intieramente, in particolare per quanto spetta alla seconda parte. Ma come la strettezza di una lettera comporta, o la memoria mi ajuta, m' ingegnerò di sodisfarvi.

A mio avviso le opinioni di Mylord in fatto di religione non erano fisse ; cioè, non teneva piuttosto a una setta religiosa e Christiana, che a un' altra : ma i suoi profondi sentimenti erano religiosi, e professava un' alto rispetto per le dottrine di Gesù Cristo, come sorgente di virtù, e di felicità. Per rispetto ai reconditi misteri della fede, la sua mente era involta in dubbj,—i quali però aveva desiderio di dissipare, quasi molesti, e per ciò non scampava mai le conversazioni su questo proposito, come voi ben sapete.

Io ho avuto occasione di osservarlo soventi volte in quelle situazioni in cui i sentimenti dell' uomo si svelano più involuntarj. e più sinceri—per esempio—inun grave pericolo di mar, burrasca, od altri, o nella contemplazione di una bella tranquilla notte d' estate, in mezzo a una solitudine, ed ho osservato le sue emozioni. e i suoi pensieri profondamente tinti di religioso.

La prima volta che io ebbi conversazione con lui su questo soggetto fu a Ravenna, mia patria, saran quattro anni—mentre cavalcavamo insieme, in un superbo solitario bosco di pini. La scena invitava alle meditazioni religiose. Era un chiaro giorno di primavera. “ Come,” mi disse, “ alzando gli occhj al cielo, o abbassandoli alla terra, si può dubitare dell' esistenza di Dio ? e come riv olgendoli al nostro intero possiam dubitare che non vi sia qualche cosa dentro

di noi piu nobile, e piu durevole che la creta di cui siamo formati? Quelli che non odono, o non vogliono ascoltare questi sentimenti, bisogna bene che siana di una vile natura.”

Io volli rispondere con tutta quelle ragioni che la superficiale filosofia d' Elvezio. e de' suoi, e discepoli, e maestri, insegna. Egli mirispose con stretti ragionamenti e profonda eloquenza, e m' adcorsi che l' ostinata contradizione su quel soggetto, costringendolo a ragionarvi sopra gli dava pena. Quel pisorso fece sopra di me una forte impressione.

Molte volte, e in varie circostanze, o l' ho udito confermare li stessi sentimenti,—e me n' e sembrato sempre profondamente convinto. Per l' appunto l' anno scorso in Genoa, quando ci preparavamo avenire in Grecia, era in costume di conversare due o tre ore ogni sera con me solo, assiso sopra la terrazza del suo palazzo in Albano, nelle belle sere di primavera; d' onde si scopre una magnifica vista della superba città, e del mare contiguo: la nostra conversazione cadeva quasi sempre sulla Grecia, alla cui spedizione allora ci preparavamo, o sui soggetti religiosi. In varii modi lo sentii sempre confermare li sentimenti che io vi spiegai di sopra. “Perche dunque,” io gli diceva, “vi guadagnate il nome di empio, e nemico di ogni credenza religiosa coi vostri scritti?” Mi rispose, “O non sono intesi, o son malinterpretati dai maligni; mio oggetto non e che di combattere l'ipocrisia, che io aborro in ogni cosa, e principalmente in fatto di religione; e che ora per disavventura parmi prevalere. Io cerco di svelare i vizi, o gl' interessi vili, che tanti si coprono sotto ipocritto manto, e per cio quelli a cui duole vogliono rendermi odioso, e farmi credere un' empio, un mostro d' incredulita, etc.”

Per la Bibbia egli ebbe sempre un particolare rispetto: Fù in uso di tenerla sempre sulla sua tavola di studio, particolarmente in questi ultimi mesi; e voi ben sapete quanto a lui fosse famigliare, poiche qualche volta ha saputo correggere qualche vostra citazione inesatta.

Fletcher può avervi informato intorno alle ottime disposizioni di suoi ultimi momenti; ripete spesso dei soggetti del testamento; e quando agli estremi ebbi tentato invano di manifestare alcune sue volontà per sua figlia, e per gli oggetti a lui più cari nella vita, e che per la gravezza di mente non gli era riuscito di farsi comprendere; Fletcher gli rispose, “Nulla mi e più a cuore che di eseguire le vostre volontà, ma per disgrazia non ho potuto comprendere

che appena la metà.” “E' possibile?” rispose, “Oime? e troppo tardi, qual sventura! . . Non la mia volontà, ma quella di Dio sia fatta.” Non gli rimasero che pochi intervalli di ragione, e interotti da delirio, effetto del sangue alla testa.

Molte volte espresse a me il dispregio che egli aveva per i così detti *esprits forts*, setta di ignoranti egoisti, incapace di ogni azione generosa, e ipocriti essi stessi nel loro affettato dispregio di ogni fede.

Professò un' intiera tolleranza e un rispetto particolare per ogni sincera convinzione: avria stimato un' imperdonabile delitto il tentativo di disparere qualunque, persuaso della verità della sua credenza, come che potesse esser tacciata di assurdità, perchè stimava che non potesse condur ad altro che a renderlo infedele.

Quanti fossero le sue opinioni a Cefalonia voi ne sapete quanto me e più. S' interessò nelle vostre conversazioni come uomo che sempre amava d' investigare il vero: e quantunque aggradisse in molte delle vostre opinioni, bisogna che vi confessi che non mi pare abbia potuto aggradire in tutte.

Mi disse un giorno a Metaxata, che dopo una lunga conversazione con voi, vi chiese allor, “Che cosa volete di più da me, per tenermi un buon Cristiano?” “*Inginocchiatevi e pregare a Dio.*” “Questo e troppo, caro dottore.” . .

Quando in Missolonghe egli prese cura perchè le bibbie, e gli altri sacra libri mandati dalle vostre pie Società, fossero sparsi; e volle che fosse fatto publico nelle gazette il vantaggio che ne saria derivato ai Greci dallo spargimento, e dallo studio di quei libri.

Son certo però che prendrete cura di non farlo comparire un devoto; perchè ciò sarebbe contro la verità, ugualmente, che il farlo apparire un nemico di ogni religione.

Se veniamo agli atti di carità e di beneficenza, che poi sono la vera sostanza, non mi basterebbe un volume per narrarvi minutamente quelli soli dei quali io son stato testimonio.

Io so in alcune città di Italia di decante famiglie cadute in bassa fortuna, senza aver nessun relazione con lui; che egli gli ha inviato dei soccorsi secreti, e considerabile, fino a più che 200 talleri, senza anche che loro fosse conosciuto il nome del benefattore.

Tre anni indietro, a Firenze, un' onorata madre di famiglia Inglese cadde in una rovinoso persecuzione per aver seriamente difeso l' onore di una sua protetta contro le sedu-

zioni di alcuni. . . ed era ridotta agli estremi. Ebbe ricorso a Mylord, che si trovava in Pisa, e tanto quella donna infelice quanto i suoi vili persecutori erano sconosciuti a lui. Egli la sovvenne di tali soccorsi, che pote deludere tutte le insidie de' suoi infami nemici. Era anche in Pisa quando una terribile procella sommerse una quantità di bastimenti nel porto di Genoa, e ridusse alla mendicizia un gran numero di famiglie. Egli spedì secretamente più che 300 talleri per soccorso di quegli infelici.

Un giorno cavalcando presso alle mura di Genoa, lungo il mare, ci venne incontro un capitano di nave Corso, la cui nave era naufragata, e si trovava senza pane. Egli l' invitò alla sua abitazione, e lo sovvenne in modo da potere tornare alla sua patria e procacciarsi nuovo impegno.

Un' altro dì cavalcavamo fuori Genova due miglia, quando incontrammo due miseri nel più desolato stato. Il loro portamento era nobile, e fiero, e la loro fisionomia li indicava nativi di Germania: due giorni appresso comparvero per caso chiedendo limosina a Mylord, alla sua abitazione. Erano fuggiaschi dalla Grecia,—due Alemanni—che perseguitati, senza tetto, senza pane, senza scarpe, volevano tornare alla loro patria, in Virtembergh; e così avevano mendicato la loro vita da Ancona, fino a Genova; e si trovavano quasi in sul disperato. Mylord li fornì di ogni mezzo per potersi recare fino alla patria loro. Infine potrei numerarvi molte centinaia di simili azioni.

Non vi parlo di quelle dopo il suo arrivo in Grecia. A Cefalonia quante famiglie di Moreotti, e di Suliotti non furono mantenute da lui?

A Missolunghi egli ha forniti i mezzi per fondare un' ospedale a beneficio dei poveri. Senza parlarvi delle larghe somme che ha somministrato al governo, e alla città di Missolunghi, per l' armata (*cioè l' esercito*), per la marina, etc. ed io posso accertarvi sicuramente che senza il suo soccorso quell' interessantissima parte della Grecia occidentale era perduta, non dai Turchi, ma dai Greci stessi*.

E ciò che aveva in animo di fare, se non era involato sì immaturamente alla Grecia, al mondo, ai suoi amici. . . .

E la sua spedizione in Grecia, che, dopo tanti altri sacrificj, gli e costata la vita, non era la più generosa, e benefica, e un' azione di Cristiano, che si possa intraprendere? Era egli uomo da mendicare fortuna, potere, e gloria?

* Missolunghi had not fallen at the writing of the above.

E qual influenza la sua venuta abbia avuto per la salute della Grecia, malgrado la sua immatura perdita io potrò mostrarvelo qualche volte!

Uno di suoi primi oggetti era d' indurre l' una e l' altra parte a sentimenti più umani. Vedete quando gli si è offerta occasione ha riscattato donne e fanciulli e spediti in libertà alla patria loro. Alcuni Turchi salvò non senza gran disturbo e pericolo personale, dalle mani sanguinarie di corsari Greci.

Quando un *Brik* Turco ruppe alla costa di Missolunghi, e che si tentava di fare l' equipaggio prigioniero, egli promise un tallero per ogni uomo che fosse salvato,—e in proporzione per gli ufficiali. Ma poterono salvarsi in tempo sulle lancie degli altri bastimenti Ottomani.

Si può dubitare che non fosse un rigido Cristiano in quanto alle opinioni di fede, e alle pratiche richieste per esserne sequenza. Converria chiedere a quelli che sì poco umilmente si vantano di loro severe osservanze delle leggi Cristiane, come coll' opere,—anche in proporzione dei loro mezzi,—seppero mai accostarsi a meritare quel nome in fatti, come Lord Byron, che accusano di empio?

Intorno a quella piccola Turca, voi conoscete bene le ragioni che l' avevano consigliato, e le sue disposizioni; oltre a ciò si era trovato fra i suoi scritti una dettagliata nota delle sue intenzioni a questo riguardo. Perciò io stimai mio debito di condurla in terra neutra, e libera, per meglio conoscere la sua volontà. Era disposta di venire presso di voi a Cefalonia, come vi feci sapere, finché almeno si potesse ottenere una risposta dagli esecutori di mylord: ma giunsero qui tante istanze di Jussuf Pachà, e dal suo padre stesso, che ve e un segretari, che infine fermamente si [*e decisa*] di tornare, insieme con sua madre, al suo genitore. Io ho tentate di dissuaderla con ogni argomento, ma in vano. Ella rispose sempre—“ *Ho perduto il mio padre adottivo Lord Byron; ora non voglio fuggire dal mio vero padre.*” Venne quì un *Brik* Turco apposta, col suo padre a bordo—e v' era richiesta formale di Jussuf Pachà al governatore Sig. Colonel Stoven, così consentendo essa pienamente fossimo obbligato di darle, e son partite saran già sei dì.

Eccovi un' estratto di una lettera di Mylord a sua sorella trovato fra le sue carte;—“ I have been obtaining the release of about twenty-nine captives. . . . ”
nella lettera tradotta.

Così egli dispose, e tali erano le loro intenzione finche cangiaron per le ragioni che vi scrissi.

In quanto al servirvi del mio nome, io lo confido alla vostra discrezione. Ho parlato col Revndo. Signor Wilson, a cui ho comunicato li stessi sentimenti che ora vi scrivo.

Vogliate credermi

Vostro divotmo. Servo,

(Sottoscritto) PIETRO GAMBA.

All' Eccellmo.

IL DOTTOR KENNEDY,
Argostoli, Cefalonia.

Missolunghi, 21 Feb., (4 Mar.) 1824.

MONSIEUR TRES ESTIME,

J'AI reçu votre lettre par laquelle je suis confirmé dans les jugements que me fait sur vous M. le Col. de Stanhope.

La cassette avec les traités religieux et moraux se trouvent encore en main du Lord Byron, qui me la consignera aujourd'hui.

On sent ici peut-être plus que dans aucune autre partie de la Grece la nécessité d'instruire les hommes, de leur faire connoître la religion et la morale, comme les seules bases sur lesquelles on peut fonder une liberté positive. La confiance des habitants de la Korelj m'a chargé d'organiser des inss. après que je leur avois parlé des suites importantes que pourront avoir la lecture de la Bible et les traités moraux, de se former une société pour la Bible et pour l'établissement d'une école. Plusieurs braves patriotes et chrétiens se sont réunis avec moi en comité, désirant que je tâche de repandre, premierement la Bible et secondement d'y former une école.

Les Bibles et les traités que j'ai recus ont été distribués à des prêtes instruits et à des établissements qu'on appelle écoles ; des résultats tres glorieux sont sortis, comme un prêtre (de la Kravarj) m'écrit ainsi.

“ Je recus vos Bibles, Dimanche derniere, devant l'église,

sous une platane, j'ai, commencé à en lire. J'étois entouré d'hommes, de femmes et d'enfants : ' Quel livre lisez-vous ?' demandoient ces personnes ; je leur en expliquois, et prenois pour la première lecture publique le sormon du Christ de la montagne. Ces gens étoient étonnés d'entendre des paroles qu'ils n'ont jamais entendues, et j'étois obligé de leur promettre de lire avec eux chaque Dimanche l'évangile."

Pour l'école j'ai fixé la méthode de Lancastre comme celle qui en portera évidemment plus vite des fruits qu'aucune autre. J'espère de recevoir en peu de temps deux maîtres qui seront capables d'instruire les enfants. Les fonds pour cet établissement est à peu près par souscriptions, et des autres moyens assurés pour la maison, pour un jardin et le payment des maîtres, &c. Ce foible récit vous a fait voir que mon intention est de donner des bases religieuses et morales comme Rédacteur du Chronique Grec, et un des Editeurs du Télégraphe Grec qui sortira en peu de jours. Je suis parfaitement d'accord que seulement la religion et la morale peuvent fonder et former la liberté que veulent les Grecs, sans ces lumières les Grecs ne seroient jamais dignes de posséder un bien si éminent, qui, sans religion et sans morale, seroit comme un glaive dans la main d'un enfant.

Des livres pour l'éducation et pour la morale, même dans des langues différentes, seroient très souhaitables ; je vous sollicite de me procurer de ces matériaux autant que possible.

J'aurais l'honneur de vous écrire davantage dans ma première lettre—excusez moi pour aujourd'hui. Acceptez mes considérations les plus distinguées.

DR. J. J. MEYER.
Redacteur du Chronique Grec.

A Monsieur.

MONSIEUR KENNEDY, M. D.
à Cefalonie.

THE cause of education in Greece has been already so well advocated, and it is so earnestly pressed upon the attention of the English public, that any attempt which I might make to second this desirable object might, perhaps, be deemed impertinent. As we had, however much and intimate connexion with this interesting people, I may be pardoned for introducing the following letter, particularly as it has already appeared, and is really descriptive of the state of the Ionian Islands, and of the general feeling there.

“ When we were about to leave Cephalonia, many of the mothers of the children who attended the school visited me and one with much emotion said, ‘ We have great cause to bless you, Kyria; but you are going, and the school, with the immense benefits to be derived from it, will cease, and we shall be left to the darkness of ignorance.’ I encouraged her by pointing out the flourishing state of the school; she replied, ‘ Alas! lady, we acknowledge and appreciate the blessing but we require to be led, guided and reprov'd, like children; and the instant you are gone, you will find the Greek gentlemen relax in their attention; and the ladies will cease to exert themselves, when the stimulus you have given them is taken away. Many of the poor women wished to make me presents, as expressive of their gratitude, but I declined receiving any: and when they appeared hurt by my refusal, I explained my motives, by informing them that the mothers of those who could not afford it, would strive to make me presents also, and that the children themselves would think a present a necessary preliminary to my favour. It was with difficulty I could make them consent to the propriety of my resolution. Many gentleman of high respectability entreated me to exert myself to procure an English mistress, and they would then gladly double their subscriptions; I considered the proposition as chimerical in the highest degree, nor could I then have anticipated, that an Englishwoman would renounce her country, separate herself from her kindred and friends, for the purpose of devoting herself to the service of strangers and foreigners. I hope, fervently, hope, that the Cephaloniotes will honourably redeem the pledge they gave us.

“The Greeks manifest an equal degree of the anxiety for the education of their ecclesiastics, who, till this period, have been the most ignorant, mean, and superstitious class of men, not ranking above the peasants whom they taught. The following is an extract of a letter we received from a friend in Cephalonia, Professor B———, ‘Since my first arrival at this island, I informed all my friends and acquaintance of the willingness and pleasure with which I would receive any of the poor ecclesiastics, who wished to learn the ancient Greek. To this moment, no one had evinced the least desire to avail himself of the offered opportunity. The progress which many of my scholars have made has at length stimulated their lethargy, and caused many to attend to instruction as a real good, to the possession of which they ought to give a portion of their vainly spent lives; but since the government has begun to take notice of the diligence of some of the ecclesiastics, necessity, aspiring ambition, the hope of acquiring happiness, all are become the centre of good. I have already in the number of learners, one Deacon and three Anagnostes (readers)—I sincerely hope that others will come. Every good is commenced by human instruments; the grace of God, however is the first great cause of all, exciting and working energetically in times and by means unknown, and frequently unexpected to our grovelling and weak minds.’” The Professor is now removed to Corfu.

“In Ithica I had a much more intimate intercourse with the ladies than in Cephalonia, and they were anxious not only for the education of their own children, but for the female children of the whole of Greece. We have had frequent and interesting conversations on this subject. One evening, a week before we left the island, we had assembled a number of our friends at our house, Dr. Ciciliani entered rather late and addressing the ladies, said, ‘I have pleasing news for you, and a cause for congratulation to the gentlemen.’ They all eagerly inquired what it was, for the Greek fleet had been expected with deep and intense interest, and the Greeks were daily expecting to hear of the arrival of Lord Cochrane. ‘I have read,’ he replied, ‘in a gazette from Hydra, that the ladies in Scotland, lamenting the want of education among our women, have formed a society for the purpose of instituting schools for the Greeks.’ The ladies arose and crowded around me, and with glistening eyes, and in an earnest manner said, ‘Kyria—you are going to England!’

do not,—oh ! do not forget us, but excite the English to pity us. Give our deepest, our most heartfelt thanks to the Scotch ladies ; tell all the English to sympathize with us—to aid us—but not to despise us.’ The gentleman had pressed forward and stood with looks of indescribable expression. I could have wept with emotion. Dr. K. and I told them, that we had neither influence or interest, which of itself could benefit them ; but we gave a promise, that we would do what we could, and that I would repeat their sentiments, and mention their gratitude to the ladies of Scotland.

“ In June last, I received the following letter from a lady, a refugee from Patras, who is mistress to the school in Ithaca :—

“ ‘ Our school, dear lady, flourishes, and its fruits are grateful, nor has my diligence been in vain, for it has interested the feelings and the souls of the gentlemen of Ithaca. The greater part of the girls who first entered the school have left, but others have entered, and the blossoming of fruit in them, praised be God, appears even more encouraging, and more abundant ; therefore I pursue with ardour the good advice which you have given me. I offer you my most humble salutations. I pray the Lord God that He may bestow upon you and your husband every blessing.—’
Ithaca.

“ Our school was conducted on the Lancasterian system ; and when the girls were at work, the first monitor read a sentence from Bambas’s grammar, and called on one of the young people to explain what she had read ; this was rather an amusement than a task, and one would strive to emulate another, or smile at the mistakes made. Dr. Morato took a deep interest in the school, and often proposed questions which excited the ingenuity and improved the intellectual powers of the girls.

“ Next to Corfu, Zante is the island of greatest importance ; but though the commerce is active, and the inhabitants are rich, the women are here more secluded than in any of the other islands. The town is crowded to excess, yet it does not afford the least means of instruction to females, and a doubt has been expressed to me, whether the girls would be allowed to attend the school, if one was established. But as the Zantiotes are very jealous of their own importance and dignity, they will blush when they find schools established in the other islands, while the women of Zante are permitted to remain in the most profound ignor-

ance. The establishment of the college of Corfu will, undoubtedly, produce a change in the desires and sentiments even of the Zantiotes.*

Santa Maura is in the same predicament. Since I left this island, the town, Amaxithi, has been destroyed by an earthquake, and it may perhaps be some time ere the inhabitants recover themselves, though the government has been benevolently kind to them. Dr. Polito is a native of this place, and would, I should imagine, gladly co-operate with any one in such a useful institution; he is superintendent of the Lancasterian schools established throughout the Ionian islands. With the exception of one or two ladies who are in the habit of appearing in the gay circles of Corfu, and by association have acquired a refined polish which is not often found among uneducated women, the ladies of Santa Maura are very deficient in mental accomplishments, even in the very simplest kind of knowledge. I must however say, that the Greek women almost universally possess a softness and gentleness of manners which is particularly pleasing and attractive. The consciousness of their own deficiencies produces a timidity and hesitation, which is calculated not only to prepossess the stranger, but to excite admiration; this however soon yields to a less pleasing emotion after acquaintance. In the lower classes this ignorance is the cause of a rude, good-natured, but troublesome familiarity of manners, and would disgust those who are not prepared to view them through a proper medium.

"Paxo is a small, and considered an insignificant island, but my recollections of it are peculiarly grateful. The inhabitants possess the most primitive simplicity, a great suavity and benevolence of manner. There is no school for females here. The people of Paxo are very industrious, and always clean and particularly neat in their dress. Several refugees from Parga, and from Suli, reside here. The bishop of Parga, a very excellent old man, lives in this island. He was much pleased with the proposition of a female school, and promised to give all his influence towards its establishment; but he, as well as the Regent, was so engaged in the election which was about to take place for the members of the Senate, that we agreed to postpone it, and before the election had taken place, we left the island."

Professor Bambas, in a letter which I received Novem-

* From a letter which I received in Jannary, I find that a school is commenced in Zante, which has every prospect of success.—1830.

ber, 1829, expresses a great desire that schools should be instituted at Athens, or in the Ægean; and he would wish to impress upon the minds of the benevolent the necessity of good books, which might form a public library. The Honourable Leicester Stanhope, Dr. Meyer, all who have written on this subject, are unanimous in the expression of the same feeling.

Professor B. says, "There appear to be two general centres for instruction,—one in Septinsular, the other in Greece Proper, and in order that no abuse of trust may occur, the Greek Society (in England) should select one of their members as a deputy. Let him be a prudent and a good man, who may consider of the means necessary to be employed, and who may be a witness of the progress made. . . . such a system of aid, if I am not greatly deceived, would tend to the eternal glory of Christianity."

I have felt considerable hesitation in thus bringing forward to public notice the hopes and the desires of the Greeks: yet, were I silent, I should be unjust.

Lord Byron expressed himself very warmly on this subject; and all the intelligent who have visited Greece agree with him in thinking that (though alloyed in a most melancholy manner) there are excellent materials to work upon. In confirmation of this, I need only refer to the interesting letters written by Count Gamba, the Honourable Leicester Stanhope, Dr. Bruno, and by Dr. Meyer. The same imagination, the same vivacity, invention, and ingenuity, mark the modern Greeks, as characterized the ancient inhabitants of the country; and that they are sensibly alive to kindness, we are evidences. They have too often had, and have, occasion to mistrust the sincerity of their associates; and a sentiment of apprehension and of diplomatic policy is the result. The peace and quiet that mutual good faith would inspire is little known; hence the petty rivalries, the envyings, the jealousies and fears, that more or less animate the whole people,—whether in Continental, or in Septinsular Greece. Education, placed on a religious basis, would remove these, and numberless other evils—which many of the enlightened perceive and deplore. The Greeks are not wedded to their superstitions, though some may be shackled and woefully misled by them: it is to be lamented, perhaps, that those among them who are educated, ridicule the absurdity of the ceremonies and dogmas of the church; since they too often plunge into a contrary extreme, and rashly

conclude the whole to be a farce. A priest once (not an illuminati) complained. "Indeed, Kyria, the people are atheoi, for, while they offer petitions to the Parthenon (Virgin,) and blindly adore the saints, they omit, or slightly refer to the true Mediator; nor have they a just idea of God or of his attributes. Yet, if I were to interfere, I should lose my church, and be pronounced an infidel. Education and good books, only, can remove the chain and fetters that superstition has riveted upon us,—a superstition as degrading to our moral as to our mental powers."

It will be pleasing to contemplate the gentle and kind feelings that dictated the annexed letter; a letter far more honourable to the presentees than to the receiver, as it indicates a degree of sensibility, which, in England, has not been attributed to the Greeks. The supposed benefit was slight, very slight and limited, and arose from circumstances. What would not be their gratitude, if the English were really to confer the blessings of education, of good books, and of a benevolent example!

The following is a Translation of the letter above alluded to.

"ALTHOUGH beneficence has its own reward, nor requires the gratitude of the person who is its object; yet it would be both unjust and improper to be silent when the benefit conferred is productive of great advantages. We, the undersigned, have been thus benefited; nor can we in any better manner express the sentiment of our soul, not only because that, during your short residence here, you have instituted a school for our daughters (never before established); but, by its establishment on the most methodical principles, we have been enabled to observe, with great pleasure, the rapid progress of our children. We beseech you, then, to accept this present letter, in which we would desire to convey the most ardent and perpetual signs of our acknowledgments for such an inestimable gift; and the evidence of that respect which each of us, and of our daughters, will ever entertain for you, and for those virtues which you have happily (for us) exhibited in this island."

Ithaca, 4 December, 1825.

O. S. November 22d.

This letter was signed by twelve of the principal gentlemen of Ithaca; and, though we received it before our final departure, it was intended to be presented to us on board, as we sailed out of the harbour. Our separation was affecting; the young people anxiously desired to follow us in boats, that they had procured; or I should rather say, which a warm-hearted friend provided for them; but our earnest entreaties induced them to give up the plan. The above letter was written in Greek and in Italian. The latter is the polite language, but Dr. K. always insisted on the cultivation of the native tongue; nor had he a difficult task in persuading his friends, that this was far more rich and majestic, though it might occasionally be less mellifluous, than the Italian.

Dr. K. anticipated with pleasure his proposed return to Greece; his recollections of the country were associated with agreeable emotions, and he had hoped to have been the means of effecting more good than it was permitted to him to perform.

The following extracts from his letters to one or two friends will perhaps be read with interest.

Cephalonia, Nov. 1823.

"I CONTINUED with the officers who met with me, for five or six weeks, generally twice a week. At length I was placed in charge of the hospital—one or two got tired I suppose, and did not attend—though they say they are still ready

"After the first meeting, at which his lordship was present, he went into the country. For a long time I did not go out to visit him, as I could not perceive that I was called on to intrude my instructions on him; because, if he were in earnest, he could easily have informed me. Besides, my heavy duty at the hospital also prevented me for sometime. I have now been out to Metaxata several times, and I regret that I did not go sooner.

"I have now mentioned generally what I am doing with Lord B.; a particular account would not be compatible with

the limits of a letter. There have been so many ridiculous stories spread about in the various islands, that I have no doubt but that some of them will reach the London papers. As his lordship is frank and confidential, I do not mention to any here the particulars of our interviews, for reasons arising both from the object I have in view, as well as from the circumstances in which his lordship is placed. It becomes us, therefore, to allow nothing to go forth to the world, which would appear to have had its origin with me, though distorted by the various channels through which it had passed—as it would indicate a degree of vanity which would frustrate the desirable object, and destroy that high opinion which he has formed of the purity of my principles, and the real and sincere disinterestedness of my views. I have, therefore, in all my correspondence, mentioned in one sentence, that I have had some interesting conversations with him. As, however, I trust entirely and unreservedly in you, as one friend ought to do with another—though indeed I would not trust all my friends as I do you—I shall, in my next, give a full and particular view of his lordship's mind, and the nature and the results of our conversations.

“After all, in reality, it may strike you that this is being too cautious. I grant that the result may show that it is so, but at present I think not. In fact, there is nothing different in him from other unconverted men whom we daily see, except that he is a lord, and a great and wicked poet. I shall, I trust, do my duty towards him, leaving it, as we ought, in faith and humility. You know that I am not a timid man, nor afraid to speak my sentiments. I have done it freely to Lord B.; and while I have not forgotten the respect due to him, neither have I forgotten that he is a sinner,—and a great one,—and that he stands in immediate need of a Saviour. The books he reads are your old friend's. I am not deterred from doing what good I can, though some here think his lordship is not sincere, and that he only wants to hear the cant phrases of the saints, and learn their opinions, in order that he may hereafter introduce them. It may possibly be so, but I do not believe it; and even though it were, I will visit and write to his lordship, and only regret that I did not do so before. No ridicule will ever frighten me; and were this his intention, he is not the first man who commenced in ridicule, and termi-

nated in earnest. Mention, therefore, what I have written, only to ———.

W. de la C., Esq.

[TO THE SAME.]

March, 1824.

“ I HAD promised to say much about Lord Byron, which, however, I must avoid for the present. You will the less regret this, if you are still in Malta when S., the bearer of this, arrives, as he was present at one or two interviews which I had with Lord B. Of Byron I augur favourably. I have received two letters from him since his departure, and two or three from Gamba, written at his lordship's request. Lord B.'s is a curious character; I do not think it is generally clearly understood. I will not affirm that I have succeeded in unravelling it, but I certainly view it in a different light from that through which many persons contemplate it. I think much more highly of him in some respects, and less of him in others, than most people seem to do; but, in judging of a man who speaks, writes, and acts as he does—for *effect*, it must be allowed that there is plenty of room for the phantasies of the imagination, when we attempt to scrutinize his motives. It would be well for him if he were surrounded by people of good principle and conduct,—for though he may naturally despise them all, yet the greatest mind is more or less affected by the society it keeps, even when it is the regulator and master-spirit of the whole. Good society produces a thousand good impressions at those moments when the mind is tranquil, and when the passions and the prejudices are not in immediate sway; and as this is the case with respect to all sorts of knowledge, so it is more directly the case with respect to religious knowledge. It is a blessing of heaven, therefore, for any one to be placed in a Christian, well principled, and moral society:—it is the reverse to be placed in contrary circumstances.”

[TO THE SAME.]

Ithaca, Sept. 1824.

“I HAVE never fully informed you of my conversations with Lord B. It is now too late; but you will be acquainted with them all—not in writing, but in print. The moment he died, I formed the design of publishing an account of the religious conversations I had with him and with others. I immediately communicated my resolution openly,—collected all the anecdotes I could which might in any way illustrate his character. To my surprise, I found my design warmly opposed by several of those gentlemen who were present at our first conversation. I assured them that I would not make use of their names, unless they wished it. I have now, however, found out the secret cause of this opposition, which, so far from discouraging, has the more fixed my determination to execute my purpose. In the mean time, these said gentlemen—I mean some of them—have been exceedingly busy in ridiculing, and I am inclined to think, wilfully misrepresenting my object and views. At all events, a great many falsehoods, and many absurd stories, are spread about the islands on this subject. Some of them have reached the London press—as you will see me called a Missionary in the *Examiner*.

“The simple state of the case is this. Before Byron came to Cephalonia, four officers had agreed to enter on the investigation of the doctrines of Christianity; Byron heard of it, and wished to be present. I had seven or eight meetings, at which he was not present; and I had seven or eight meetings with Byron alone. With one of the gentlemen I had conversations almost every day, for four months.

“My object is, to give a plain and faithful account of what took place at these meetings and conversations—Byron appears simply as one character. As every point of religion was touched upon, and many objections stated and discussed, I intend to give as clear, simple, and forcible view of the leading doctrines of Christianity as I can, with a refutation of the principal objections which I have heard urged against it.

“As not one of the gentlemen have yet authorised me to use their names, I do not intend to describe what each said,

or to delineate individual character. I shall only present a connected view of Christianity, in language divested of all tincture of theology. My object is not to prove Byron a Christian, nor to write about Byron particularly, but to take the opportunity which such meetings as we often held—and at which so singular a character as Byron was present—offer, to publish a work on Christianity written by a layman, with the hope of its being both interesting and useful. If I am not satisfied that it will be both, it shall never appear.

“I have no reason to believe that Byron was in the least degree converted; but I think, had he lived, he would have examined the subject. I was not surprised at the extent of his reading on religious subjects; I was surprised rather at his ignorance as I can be, since I have long been convinced that all unbelievers, however great their talents, are as ignorant as children, with respect to the real nature and doctrines of Christianity. This I know from a very wide experience. Let nothing of this be reported so as to be put into print, for they print all and everything about poor Byron now. When my work is out, they will know my object, and learn something that will settle at once many an absurd tale, and many *soi-disant* wits will be compelled to keep silence.”

[TO THE SAME.]

Ithaca, January, 1825.

“I saw the article to which you allude, in the papers. There have been several others, all of them mutilated and imperfect, with a mixture of truth and falsehood. Yet they will so far be useful, as they will serve as a sort of advertisement of my book, and save me so much of expense; it will also serve as a justification of its being published, in order to correct the misrepresentations that have been made.

“Mr. Hobhouse, one of Lord B.’s executors, has written me a polite letter on the subject, to which I gave, I hope, a satisfactory answer, explaining my object and views, and the nature of the work. An Appendix will contain the correspondence with Lord B. and others. The topics embraced

are many, and those of the most important and difficult kind. I have directed all my attention to these subjects; and though some interest may be lost by delay, yet nothing shall induce me to compromise myself by hastening on a crude and imperfect work on such an occasion, and on such a subject. If I succeed in the design I have chalked out, the work will be useful—if I am not satisfied that it is likely to prove so, I shall never publish it.”

[TO THE SAME.]

“*Ithaca. 14th, April, 1825.*

“We received your letter three weeks ago, but the melancholy intelligence of the death of Mrs. K.’s twin brother which reached us, has prevented me from writing—even now Mrs. K. will not be able to write. Our afflictions within the last year have been great; they have burst on us as it were suddenly and unexpectedly—a few months before, her only sister died. We trust and pray that these trials may be sanctified, and tend to draw us more and more towards spiritual things, and detach us from all hope and dependence on a vain, perishing, and transitory world. Two reasons have chiefly swayed me in wishing to avoid England at the present moment; first, lest, from the want of medical officers, I may be shipped off to the East Indies, in the bustle of sending reinforcements: and secondly, a desire to finish my work here, and have it ready to be put to the press the moment I arrive in England. You will wonder why I have been so long about it; but if you consider that, besides an account of Conversations with Byron and others, which it will not be difficult to give, I intend to present a view of the external, but chiefly of the internal, evidences of Christianity, such as they appear to a well-educated layman, you will see the propriety, nay, the necessity, of much study and reflection. I shall give my opinion on every subject of Christian doctrine that is of importance, and the evidence on which it rests; and as I shall have to speak of, and point out the pernicious effects of the difference of opinion among professed Christians, it is necessary that I should go on sure and certain grounds, and this more

particularly, as Christians will read the book in order to see what good has been done, or what it will effect, and Deists will read it from curiosity. I must endeavour, therefore, to present such a work as will be pleasing to the first, and useful, if possible, to the second class. I have now finished a very extensive course of reading; I have to put it into order, and digest the great mass of materials which I have collected, and to polish it up in the best style and manner of which I am capable. I have not yet determined what title it shall bear; this, however, is of very inferior moment. The object is to prepare a useful work, and if this be accomplished, an appropriate title can soon be devised.

“What a field for curious contemplation does the world present of a few wise men, and multitudes of fools,—of passing vanities and idle shews,—and of the folly that still attaches to the best of us, in expecting so much from it after so much experience of its vanity!

“This little island is really a charming and beautiful solitude, especially that part in which we reside; but, after a few months, at furthest, we shall in all probability relinquish it for the land of our fathers, where many whom we left flourishing and happy have gone down to the dust, while their souls are enjoying felicity above It is useless, however, to look back upon the past, or to dwell upon the present. The future is all. Our present light afflictions are but as nothing compared with the weight of future glory if we confide in God. Nay, painful as our trials may be, we are compelled to admit that they are necessary. Would an uninterrupted flow of health and happiness tend to our good?—on the contrary we feel that it is owing to the infinite wisdom of God that the hopes and expectations of Christians are disappointed here; that they are tried, afflicted, purified, and chastised from the tenderest love and mercy. We profess to be dead to the things of this life, and alive in Christ. If we really are so, the changes of life cannot much affect us, except so far as that we should profit by them—renounce all worldly passions, and endeavour to become more vigorous in our spiritual life. Without these trials, the things of this world would please us too much, we should wish to continue always in it; and our belief of heavenly realities would be faint and weak, and our heart would belie our profession of faith—which, indeed, it very often virtually does.

"Mullingar, Aug. 10th, 1826.

"I HAVE spent a good deal of time on my book since I came here, and am just beginning to make a fair copy of it. I have read since I came here,—first, Parry's Account of the last month of Lord Byron's life; second, Gamba's ditto: third, Blaquiere's ditto: fourth, Anecdotes of Lord B.: fifth, Dallas's Recollections of Lord B.: sixth, Madame Beloe on Lord Byron, in two volumes, French. In all these, except Dallas's my conversations are mentioned, and placed in a false and ridiculous point of view. I have also read some of Byron's works, which I had not seen before, in order to enable me to form a more correct estimate of his character. The more I read and consider, the more I am convinced that every word I say should be weighed, and just and true. The subject will from idleness or curiosity, cause many to look into the book; and it is a heavy duty on me to take care if my book does not produce any positive good, that at least it will produce no evil or scandal. B. is represented as a man of mighty intellect and great knowledge of the Scriptures—that he astonished and perplexed me—and put to flight, by one attack, all my arguments, and consequently, my attempt was an absurd and silly one. I must prove, in fact, that I am no fool, which is rather a difficult thing to do, when one writes a book. I shall keep this object in view, and endeavour to accomplish it, at the risk of being deemed lazy and dilatory."

G. F. D., Esq.

Belfast Oct. 30th, 1826.

"SINCE I came to England I have travelled about nine hundred miles by land, and I have been so unsettled, and so much engaged in public duties, that I have had but little time to attend to my work; but the bustle appearing to be nearly over, with some prospect of our remaining here during the winter, I mean to set about preparing it for publication. I have changed the plan of it a good deal. I feel

some apprehension of the remarks and censures to which I shall expose myself, as these will certainly be made by all anti-religious editors; but though this prospect renders me perhaps, a little more tardy, it will, not have the effect of altering, in the least degree, my firm determination to publish. What good, or what success will follow time will show. I sincerely trust it may do good; if this did not appear probable, I would suppress it."

W. DE LA C.

" *December 23rd, 1826.*

"I HAVE this moment received orders to proceed to Newry without delay, and embark immediately with a detachment of the 91st, for Jamaica. This has come suddenly and unexpectedly; but I trust we can yield, and with sincerity say, 'Blessed be the name of the Lord;' however opposed his dispensations may be to our desires,—his will be done. Poor Mrs. K.'s state of health renders it most hazardous to undertake a long winter's voyage. You can judge what we feel on the present occasion

"I was busy with my book, and read a part of it. This order will again interrupt it; when it will be finished I know not, but I shall direct my whole attention to it, lest any event happen to myself in the climate whither Providence sends me.

"I shall think of you when we are far distant. Make mention of me in your prayers—we require each other's remembrance at the Throne of Grace, for the trials of life are numerous and various: all is well, however, to those who love the Lord Jesus. May God bless my dear friend, and make your future life useful and honourable.

Yours affectionately."

G. F. D., Esq.

“Jamaica, Stony Hill, March, 1827.

“I VIEW this beautiful country with a sort of distrust and dislike, as if death lurked under every blooming tree, and amidst the blossoming flowers—yet I have a feeling of perfect confidence in God. I am an exile here, waiting literally till God, in his Providence shall conduct me from this pestilential abode to England.

“Kingston is the largest town in the island—there are troops at Port Royal, and Up Park camp, two miles from Kingston. There are also detachments at Fort Augusta, and Fort Henderson; all these are on the sea shore; behind these a plain, of ten miles in extent, opens, with trees and sugar canes; at the end of this plain the mountains commence on the top of the first line of which, situated eight hundred feet above the level of the sea, are Stony Hill Barracks. The air is more pure, and of course the degree of temperature is less than in any of the towns on the plains, of which we command a complete view. The whole country is mountainous, and covered with trees of every variety, from the top of the highest mountain which is eight thousand feet above the level of the sea.—There are four thousand species of plants.

“The white inhabitants never associate with the creoles; the latter, whatever be their wealth, cannot enter a ball-room. There are only twenty thousand whites, while there are four or five hundred thousand blacks.”

“6th July.

“I AM exceedingly engaged. We are now in the rainy season. For the last six weeks we have had rain daily, generally accompanied with thunder, the reverberations of which are exceedingly grand as it rolls and re-echoes among the hills by which we are surrounded. We have a heavy shower for an hour or two, and then the sun breaks out and dries every thing in a moment. The rains have kept it very cool, that is to say, the mornings and evenings are cool, but when the sun shines it is oppressively hot:

these vicissitudes are dangerous. The whole face of the country presents an unvarying verdure, and the most astonishing luxuriance of vegetation: the smell is varied; now pleasing, now heavy, and too much for freedom of ventilation, and for the purity of the air.

"If you were to walk out at night, you would think the whole country was filled with animated creatures; your ears are stunned with the noise of insects, frogs, toads, serpents, and other reptiles. Few snakes have appeared near us, but I should not desire to walk through the impenetrable forests that surround us; though the negroes do so barefooted. I asked one whom I found buried among the trees whether he was not afraid of snakes: 'No.'—'Why?'—'Because they are afraid of me, and glide away as fast as they can.'—'But what if you trampled upon one unawares?'—'Then it will bite me,' said the poor fellow with the greatest indifference.

"The 84th regiment that came out with us has lost three officers, and a great many men: the disease continues with them. The heaviest sickness and mortality prevail among the merchant sailors, many of these have died. The navy always run out to sea. . . . Our trials are yet to come, but I have no fear. I trust that the same God who has hitherto so mercifully preserved and blessed me will still spare my life . . . As I cast my eye downwards on the beautiful verdant plain between this and Kingston, I could not help contrasting the fine and pleasing aspect of the country with the extent of sickness and death that at this season generally prevails . . . To those who believe that there is no chance, death can neither be accelerated nor postponed by any arrangement of ours; hence it is better to confide and trust in God, to yield ourselves, our lives, and death and salvation, wholly to him in Christ.

*"Up Park Camp, August 31st.
(Closed on the 3rd September, 1827.)*

"I TOLD you in my last, that the sickly season had commenced with the 84th regiment at Fort Augusta. Six officers of this regiment have died, and about one hundred and

thirty men. The fever increased so rapidly, that the government here was under the necessity of ordering them up an once to encamp at Stony-Hill, leaving all the sick behind them. They were put under canvas; unfortunately, the third day after they went up a terrible hurricane took place, with a whole day of heavy rain. Their tents were blown down. This mischief hastened the death of many of the men, and the next day thirteen were buried at Stony-Hill, and three at Fort Augusta—being, in one day, sixteen deaths in one regiment. They were thrown into their graves without coffins, as there was no time to make them. All the sick of this regiment are left behind at Fort Augusta, except a few who have survived, and have been sent up hither; there remains no one except the medical officer, who continues to take charge of the officers and regimental luggage which were left behind. The measure of moving the troops has, however, been beneficial, and reflects great credit on Mr. Tully, who proposed it. As the regiment have now prepared huts for themselves, they are now beginning to recover from the panic with which they had been seized. Two officer's widows have been left; one with four children. The 22nd have been very kind and attentive to the unfortunate 84th.

“The fever has begun in this camp among the 33rd, and with the detachment of Artillery, in the 22nd and in a company of the 84th, and of late three or four have died daily. While I now write, I see a corpse carried by four black pioneers, and six soldiers following it to the grave. Within the last month forty have died in this camp. As the fever is daily increasing, the detachment of the 22nd will march on Monday, and the remaining company of the 84th goes tomorrow, in order to give room.—I said one coffin, as they come nearer I see there are two.

“The sickness is not in any way severe among the natives; and as for the blacks, they are seldom affected with fever. This reminds me of the remark of Sterne, ‘God tempests the wind to the shorn lamb.’ . . . At this moment four medical men are absent from the island, who ought to be present; and besides this, while I now write, five medical officers lie sick. You may conceive the duty which we, who by the blessing of God remain well, have to perform. . . . There are only three medical officers in the camp who are capable of performing their duty. I have a whole hospital to take charge of myself, with ninety-five patients. Be-

side these, I have out-patient officers, women, and children. After toiling through the day, I am often called up at night : I have no time to read or write. Some days I have not time to read my usual portion of the Scriptures. I spend part of the day in the field-hospital to study the disease.

“ The weather is hot, but by no means so hot as it is close and sultry. The thermometer is between 84° and 87 in the shade. The air is hazy and foggy, just like a sirocco. The mornings and evenings are beautiful, and the country looks so still, so pleasing, and fresh, that it excites one's surprise to think of the contrast of quiet and beauty which it exhibits, with the misery, wretchedness, sickness, and death, which prevail among the inhabitants. You will rejoice with me, and render thanks unto God for his mercy in preserving me in such perfect health. It is of his mercy that I am spared. . . . So confident do I feel, that I have a sort of excitement and astonishment at the scenes which I witness : and, though I endeavour to keep my mind serious, and grave, and sober, and take warning by the judgments of God that are displayed before my eyes, yet at times I cannot extinguish the exulting and confident feeling that I am one to whom God will abundantly shew his mercy and compassion. These considerations make me more active in endeavouring to alleviate the sufferings of the sick. From the numerous deaths and sickness, almost everything is in confusion, and we have great difficulties in carrying on our duties. The men are either frightened, or insolent, or desperate and careless. Many of the officers talk in a bravadoing style : swearing and drinking, and going on as before. Few take it to heart to consider their ways before God, to amend them, and to avert his judgments and vengeance, by flying to Christ as their refuge. . . .

“ . . . The only inconvenience I feel is, that from walking so much in the sun, and from the fatigue of the duty, my head beats at night as though I were in a fever. I am long before I can get to sleep. However, thank God, I always rise with a greatful heart, very fresh, to the labours of the day.

3rd Sept.

"T. is no more: may his soul have been saved by the blood of Christ!" Speaking of some individuals who had suffered bereavements, he adds, "May their afflictions be sanctified! We cannot sufficiently praise the tenderness and goodness of God in our case. . . . To-day a letter arrived from Sir James M'Grigor, directed to Mr. Tully, to send me home by the first opportunity. W. had only time to congratulate me, and to say, that under the heavy sickness, and scarcity of medical officers, I could not go at present. Of course I shall be sent home with the first transport. This is a time when a physician must exert himself. I will not flinch from duty. . . . I could not leave in the midst of such sickness, when medical men are so few, and their services so much required. . . I trust you will be more cheerful and full of hope."

"Kingston, Jamaica, Oct. 4th, 1827.

"DEAR SIR,

"It is with deep concern that I have to communicate the death of Dr. Kennedy, which took place on the 18th of last month, after an illness of three days, with yellow fever: he died at Up-Park Camp. . . He received, some days previously to his illness, a notification that he was to return to Europe by the first opportunity. He was, certainly, not one whom I should have thought likely to suffer from the fever but I fear the great fatigue and responsibility of the charge he lately had, in a climate like this, must prove more or less injurious to an European constitution.

"I most sincerely lament his death; it is a great loss to the medical department of the army, and to the world. The officers of the 22nd regiment at Stony Hill, to which station he was some time attached, could not express themselves with greater sorrow, had they known him for years; in fact, every one who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, could not but estimate him very highly. It is only a few weeks since he came from Stony Hill on duty, with Mr. Tully, and slept at my house. We spent that evening at

Mr. T.'s, and as we three were the only persons present, it is melancholy to me to think that I am the only one now surviving . . .

Yours, &c.
H. B. B."

[From Dr. K.'s NOTES, referred to in p. 44.]

IN reply to his lordship's objection, I stated if there were any women who loved their Saviour in the manner he had asserted, it was clear that they had no knowledge of religion, that those ladies who were pious, never forgot that their Saviour is divine, and I was afraid their love was too weak rather than too fervent. The ladies, I added, were fortunately for themselves, more disposed to attend to religion from education, habit, and character. They had more time for meditation than men, they were not exposed, as men of the world are, to the contagion of bad example; nor has it become fashionable, nor is it received as a proof of a liberal and enlightened mind, and of a great and towering genius, (as it is amongst the men,) that the women should profess a disbelief in Christianity. Among the ladies there are instances of genuine piety combined with the finest understanding; I was ready to confess, however, that many ladies, from various causes and circumstances, carefully preserved the forms of religion, while they were destitute of its spirit, and that in such a case FEAR might be the actuating motive. One of the gentlemen, more witty than wise, reported that I had agreed with Lord Byron that all ladies were religious from fear; when Lord B., heard of it, he expressed his displeasure, and highly censured the gentleman for misrepresenting the opinion of others on so important a subject.

[From Dr. K.'s NOTES.—p. 47.]

AT this meeting I wished to suit the taste of my hearers, by reading all the passages in the profane writers who lived immediately after the promulgation of Christianity which bore on the subject. I read the celebrated paragraphs from Tacitus, and also that part of his history where he gives an account of Judea and its inhabitants, preparatory to his account of the siege; an account however, which is lost. I read also the letter of Pliny, with Trajan's answer; the allusion of Juvenal and Persius to the Jews; the objection of Porphyry and Celsus, and of Julian the Apostate, and the passage of Josephus on the Talmud. I referred to the testimony of Pilate, as quoted by Eusebius and Tertullian, Suetonius and Lucian. With all this they were very much pleased and delighted, and most, if not all of them, were so totally ignorant of Christianity, that they were very much surprised to find that it had been mentioned, or even alluded to by what are termed the elegant and classical writers of Greece and Rome. This day's meeting passed off very well; some of them confessed that they had gained much new and interesting information.

In reading these extracts I did not fail to make the comments that must occur to every honest mind, freed from the trammels of prejudice.

[ON MIRACLES, page 56.]

As Dr. K. did not complete his design, I have omitted several unconnected or unfinished paragraphs; the following is of too much importance, however, to be laid aside.

Since Hume published his celebrated Essay on Miracles, it has been the fashion with all real, or would be Deists, to assert that miracles are incapable of being proved by human testimony, and the sentiment was repeatedly expressed by Lord Byron. If there be any one who really believes that Hume has proved this impossibility, after having read his work, I have no hesitation in saying, that he is both very

ignorant, and very weak in his judgment. The Essay is a complete piece of sophistry; his premises imply his conclusion, and these premises are partly true, and partly false; nor does that which is true set forth the whole truth. According to his plan of putting down only such propositions, and such facts as answer the end he has in view, and introducing such facts and false reasonings as he can easily refute, it would be easy to prove anything. But although we see his ingenuity in endeavouring to slide in his conclusions, under the veil of confuting what every man of sense readily allows to be false, we make a stand, and deny that his propositions are true, because there may have been much incredulity and false testimony in favour of pretended miracles. We might just as well argue, that there is no such thing as truth, because there has been much testimony in favour of falsehood and error. Besides, it deserves to be mentioned, to the everlasting stigma of that man, that when Dr. Campbell sent him a refutation of his Essay, in manuscript, desiring him to point out any objections, he returned it, nor did he ever deign to notice it after it was published. He was either ashamed to acknowledge his error, or unable to make good his position; for it is impossible to believe he would have hesitated to attempt the latter, if it was a thing either easy or possible.

All the miracles in Scripture are capable of being proved by testimony, for they are all of a nature perfectly susceptible of it. The manner in which a miracle is performed, or the discovery of the agent by which it is effected, may not be susceptible of proof; but if the effects of that miracle remain, and if the effects are beyond the ordinary course of nature, there can be no doubt but that the testimony of competent witnesses is as susceptible of proving it, as of proving any other fact; because the effects of a miracle become a fact discernible by our senses and faculties. Thus, for example, if in the course of the night, when all the people of London were asleep, St. Paul's Church were to be removed from its present situation, and placed in Hyde Park, while every other surrounding object was left as before, however much astonishment this might create, yet there would be a million of witnesses who could not but assert, that formerly St. Paul's Church stood at the top of Ludgate Hill, whereas it is now in Hyde Park. Their sight would convince them that the church now stands in Hyde Park—their memory, that it was yesterday in the churchyard at Ludgate. This testi-

mony, therefore, as to the fact, would be precisely the same as if the whole city of London were to testify that George III. was buried at Windsor, or any other public and notorious fact; because they are alike capable of being ascertained by an appeal to the senses of all. The difference is not in the fact, nor in the cause, but in its frequency. Not in the fact, because both are demonstrable by the same mode of evidence nor in the cause, for the Creator causes men to die; and can perform things much more wonderful than that of removing St. Paul's to Hyde Park.

The essential difference between a common fact, and one which we call a miracle, is, that the one is usual, the other unusual; the means by which the one is effected, are generally known; in the other, they are either not at all, or only partially known; whilst the same power is exerted in both. It is, therefore, the very height of obstinacy, to deny a fact because it is rare, if supported by credible and unsuspecting testimony. If such facts as we call miraculous were stated to be performed by the power of man, we might reasonably doubt them: but if they are referred to God as the agent, we cannot reject them, although we do not know the means by which he has brought them to pass. If we do doubt them, we can advance no other reason, than that they are so rare, that they cannot be believed; and because they are so rare, the witnesses, however honest and sincere, and competent to ascertain the reality of the fact, must have deceived themselves, and cannot be credited. The power of God to effect miracles cannot be doubted; nor is it any argument against the suspension or violation of that order of nature which depends on himself, and is called a miracle, that it has been done seldom. If a thing has been done seldom, is it therefore impossible? Is the presumption arising from things usual that no unusual thing will happen, a proof clear, certain, and positive, that such unusual things will not happen? and is this presumption to be made a ground for our rejecting the positive evidence of thousands, who have given every evidence of their sincerity, that such unusual things did happen, and that they were witnesses of them? I know not to what principle such a disbelief can be attributed, but to the obstinacy of the will: for certainly it wants a reason. The Apostles saw our Saviour after he had been crucified and laid in the grave, and evinced their belief in this truth in every situation and circumstance, to the last moment of their lives: the unbeliever has no direct contrary testimony to op-

pose to this, and he rejects positive testimony, solely because he never saw such a similar event, and such events are not recorded in other histories. The whole is reduced to this: he does not believe the testimony of others, precisely because he did not see the fact; and he can assign no other cause of suspicion against the witnesses, but that the event was unusual—impossible, he dare not call it.

Miracles, therefore, can be performed by the Creator through the instrumentality of such agents as he thinks proper to select; and the fact of their having been performed can be proved by the honest and uncorrupted testimony of men. Nor will this power, nor the fact, be denied by any sober man; though thousands should still disbelieve,—not because they know them not to have been performed, but because such events did not fall under their personal knowledge. I admit that caution is necessary in receiving evidence for any thing that is unusual, but the mind must be wilfully hardened to all truth and knowledge, that will refuse to *admit* testimony to a fact, to which he is naturally cautious and reluctant to assent,—merely on the ground of its being proper to be cautious and reluctant. Miracles are not the only evidence for the truth of the Scriptures, though they constitute a chief and important point; and when we know from other sources, and by other evidence, the unerring certainty of the testimony of those that relate them, the sober-minded man gives his assent without qualification or reserve; and indeed, it would be absurd and irrational to do otherwise, since, from other evidence he has the conviction, that those who related these miracles cannot lie, as they are recorded by the Holy Spirit, (against whose testimony there ought to be no appeal,) and testified by thousands and thousands, both of those who believed, and those who did not believe in the agent and in the object of such miracles.

The Jews and Christians are an example of different people, of different faiths, believing in the miracles of the Old Testament. No similar example can be adduced respecting any miracle that is doubtful or pretended; and this alone affords at least a presumption, that there is such evidence in the nature of the miracles themselves,—the testimony that attests them, (or arising from other causes,) as tends to produce similar conviction in the minds of people who differ in almost every thing else. This fact also shews, that a belief in the existence of miracles is not inconsistent with the human mind, founding this belief on testimony. Were the same

testimony and evidence, occurring in every age, and gathering strength as time rolls on, brought forward in support of any other doctrine, except for that of the Christian religion,—of doctrines, in fact, which require only the assent of the understanding to the evidence, and not a change of life and conduct, I am persuaded that the miracles in the Scriptures would have been received without objection or scruple, universally. Let the Deist, therefore, commune with his own conscience; let him dispassionately inquire into the cause of his rejection of the evidence in support of the Christian miracles: does it arise from the clearness of his reason, that detects and rejects falsehood,—or is it indeed produced by his enmity and repugnance to the doctrines and precepts which the Scriptures command him to receive?

[Referred to in page 62.]

CYRUS PREDICTED BY NAME.

NOT only was the name of Cyrus plainly expressed in this prediction, but it describes the most minute circumstances of an event that did not transpire for more than two centuries after its delivery, and long before any of the events out of which it arose existed. It contained a direct intimation that he would not be a believer in the God of Israel,—all this was fulfilled in every point. One hundred and twenty years elapsed ere the temple and city of Jerusalem were destroyed; during that time the prediction was preserved by the very people, whose humiliation it implied, and who, persisting as they did, to the last, in the disbelief of every intimation of their captivity, would gladly have suppressed all that related to it, if possible. In part of the prediction, Cyrus is surnamed ‘the Shepherd of God,’ and this name is applied to him in the writings of Xenophon. And to complete the evidence in proof of the precision that attended the fulfilment of this prediction, we are informed* by the same historian, that pagan sacrifices to the heathen deities were offered by his request in his presence at the time of his death. He thus

* *Cyropædia*, lib. viii. cap. 45.

invokes them: "O paternal Jove, Sun, and all ye gods, receive these as completions of many and noble actions and tokens of thanks; because in sacrifices, in heavenly signs, in auguries, and in predicting voices, you have shewn me things which it was fit, and which it was not fit, for me to do." Thus we are reminded that, while it is said, "I have sur-named thee," it is added, "though thou hast not known me."

[Referred to in page 63.]

THE kingdom of Egypt ceased with the destruction of the Ptolemies. It had lasted 294 years from the death of Alexander the Great. Cambyses invaded the country conquered and subdued it 526 years B. C., thirty-three years after the vision of Daniel. The empire recovered from this shock, and again flourished as a kingdom,—but since its subjugation by the Roman arms, it has been base among the nations.

[Referred to in page 66.]

DANIEL ix. 25. This commandment is the beginning of the 70 weeks, or 490 years. It does not refer to the proclamation of Cyrus in the first year of his reign, which was confined to the rebuilding of the Temple, and did not extend to the city of Jerusalem; nor is it the decree of Darius Hy-staspes, which also only regards the Temple and is merely a confirmation of the decree of Cyrus, Ezra vi. For the same reasons, it cannot be the decree in the 7th year of the reign of Artaxerxes, which only confirmed what his predecessors had granted, but it must be dated from the 20th of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Bishop Chandler observes, "That either of the two latter are sufficient to shew the completion of the prophecy in Christ. The commencement of the weeks (as he remarks) must be either from the 7th of Artaxerxes, which falls on the 457th year before A. D., or from the 20th of Artaxerxes, (add to 457 years before Christ, 26 years after Christ, which is the number that 483—or 69 weeks—exceed 457 years,) and you are brought to the beginning of

John the Baptist's preaching of the advent of the Messiah : add seven years, or one week, to the former, and you come to the 33rd year of A. D., which was the year of Jesus Christ's death ; or else compute 490 years, the whole seventy weeks, from the 7th of Artaxerxes by subtracting 457 years (the space of time between that year and the beginning of A. D.,) from 490, and there remains 33, the year of our Lord's death. Let the 20th of Artaxerxes be the date of the 70 weeks, which is the 445th year before A. D., and reckon 69 weeks of Chaldean years, 70 Chaldean years being equal to 69 Julian ; and so 478 Julian years making 483 Chaldean,—and they end in the 33rd year after Christ, or the passover following.—*Answer to the Grounds and Reasons, &c.*, p. 139.

It will not perhaps be esteemed tedious, if, in illustration of this point, I refer to Dr. Gill, whose learning and industry were equal. "The Syriac version, though not a literal one, gives the true sense of the passage, rendering it, 'Unto the coming of the King Messiah,' unto which there were to be 7 and 62 weeks, or 69 weeks, which make 483 years ; and these being understood of eastern years, used by the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Persians, consisting of 360 days, reckoning 30 days to a month, and twelve months to a year, there was just 483 of these from the 20th year of Artaxerxes, to the 33d year of the vulgar era of Christ, and the 19th of Tiberius Cæsar, in which he suffered."—From DR. GILL, *in loc.*

[Referred to in page 76.]

DR. KENNEDY had gone extensively through the external evidences, which contain much interesting information, but which might, nevertheless, be esteemed prolix by the general reader, especially with such books of reference as "Haldane's Evidences," "Horne's Introduction," and Erskine's excellent work. As Dr. Kennedy lived not to touch on the internal evidence—on which he placed the greatest weight,—the Editor has considered that it would not be un-

just to Dr. K. to omit his reasonings on the first part, with the reservation only of the following abstract:—

“If the Jewish books had merely contained an account that, two thousand years ago, their founder, Abraham, was a shepherd;—that his descendants increased, and by their bravery liberated themselves from the Egyptian bondage;—that, after leaving Egypt, they wandered in quest of new settlements—and, allured by the fertility of Canaan, conquered, by their own valour, the inhabitants; extirpating some, expelling others, and reducing the remainder to subjection; that, tired of elective governments, they founded a monarchy;—that the nation became divided into two portions;—that the one was carried away captive by the Assyrians; and after some time, the other was taken by the Babylonians;—that the king of Babylon had, from humanity, or some other motive, reinstated them;—and that, after various vicissitudes, they became tributary to the Romans:—if their cosmogony had been as absurd as that of other nations,—had their books been filled with accounts of gods and goddesses,—had their worship been directed to stones and statues,—their writings would have been received with interest, and the notice they incidentally give of the Egyptians, the Edomites, Amalakites, and others little known, would have been read with pleasure, and little doubt would have been entertained of the accuracy of their historians, to whom the same degree of credit would have been attached, as to the most accredited of Greece and Rome. It would not have been deemed an objection, that other nations had not related the Jewish history, since they had not preserved their own.

“Let any one consider what authority he has for believing the text of Cicero, of Aristotle, of Plato, or of any other ancient writer, and let him ask what security he has that their writings have not been altered; and let him trace by what channels they have been transmitted; how preserved, and how many there were in every age, who neither could, nor did take, any interest in them, or use any exertions to preserve the text uncorrupted. When he has collected all the information he can gain on these subjects, and after he has meditated on all the chances and probabilities of the corruption or preservation of the text,—let him compare it with the evidence that awaits his investigation, and let him acknowledge there is no such to be found in favour of any other book whatever. Be they a revelation from God, or a forgery, the

evidence of the accurate transmission of them from the period of the Babylonish captivity,—from the time of the translation of the Septuagint: and, with respect to the books of the New Testament, from the moment they were written, is of such a nature, that human prudence, had it devised, or human power, had it exerted itself, could not have produced such a variety of channels, direct or indirect; nor could it have excited such multitudes in every age, whether favourable or hostile to them, to obtain the end proposed. No such evidence ever can be produced in favour of any other book; nor is it possible that, were we to ask for a series of clear, direct, and unbroken evidence, we could hope to find it; but, to satisfy the most scrupulous mind, the series of proofs in favour of the Scriptures is unbroken, and this series commences at a very early period, before any one was interested to deny, or doubt, the genuineness of the Jewish records: two other series, also, commenced in the Samaritan and Septuagint translations: and, in the time of the preaching of the Apostles,—when opposition would be made, the new series, unbroken in tenor, was opened up, and transmitted to every nation, through every age; and the great depositaries of the whole, were the Jews—who reject Christianity: the Christians—who embrace their own and the Jewish records: and the Heathen—who reject both. These contending parties preserved that which was confided to them; and the writings of each, whether as quoting from the original books to express their belief, or to confute them by reasonings, were so many additional sources of preservation and correction,—that, had the original books perished, they might have been recomposed from the writings of believers, and unbelievers.

“Notwithstanding, however, the mass of evidence derived directly and indirectly from the belief and disbelief of thousands in every age, modern unbelievers are not satisfied. They pretend to an astonishment, that a greater number of unbelieving authors did not refer to the Christian religion in the first period of Christianity. This astonishment, however, if real, is without foundation; for most of the heathen authors of Greece and Rome have noticed it—*ex. gr.* Tacitus, Pliny, Martial, Persius, and Juvenal certainly considered it as the greatest wonder that ever occurred.

“We find that Tacitus, Pliny, Celsus, Porphyry, and Galen—as far as they treat of the subject—confirm the facts related, and only reject the doctrines inferred. I would—were

no Christian testimony in existence—believe them. For, if they were false, why not disprove them? And if they were false, why does Tacitus, Suetonius, and others, say that Christ was put to death?—admitting one of the principal facts, while they leave the inquirer to infer that the others are true also, since they are neither denied nor disproved.

“Let not modern unbelievers, therefore, mourn over the silence of their early predecessors, nor let them argue against the Christian religion because all the writers of antiquity have not noticed its commencement. Had they all written, could they have done more than Tacitus, Celsus, and Julian? Why did not these disprove the facts related, and trample the new religion to the ground? Why permit an error to be introduced, since it was so easy to prevent it? Could they not then detect falsehood as easily as at this time? Could they not examine witnesses, and weigh evidences? Why did such inertness and incapacity seize the whole world at this period? An indolence which has never since been manifested! As philosophers and men of letters, it was their duty to detect and expose error of every kind, especially errors that were calculated to overturn the common belief of all. Did their silence and neglect evince their inability? or did they, with a prophetic spirit, leave the task to such geniuses as were afterwards to arise—the Voltaires, Gibbons, Paines, and Humes of a later day?”

[Referred to in page 124.]

THE paper here mentioned, as well as the remarks on the Pentateuch, are still in the possession of Mr. H., who has hitherto declined to comply with the request of the Editor. In arguing on the same question, Dean Sherlock observes,—

“There is no proportion, indeed, between time and eternity; and it is, therefore, difficult to conceive that every momentary sin should, in its own nature, deserve eternal punishment. But there is no difficulty to conceive, that an immortal sinner may, by some short and momentary sins, sink himself into an irrecoverable state of misery, and that he

must be miserable as long as he continues to be. . . . We do not here consider the proportion between the sin and the punishment,—between a short and transient act, and eternal punishment,—for it is not the sin, but the sinner, that is punished for his sin. . . . Therefore, an immortal sinner, who can never die, and will never cease to be wicked, must always be miserable. . . . The justice of God is only concerned to punish sinners. That their punishments are eternal, is a necessary consequence of their immortality.”



MEMORANDUM.

WHILE this work was in the course of publication, a correspondence took place between the Editor and one of the parties interested in the previous conversations; and as the Editor is desirous that full justice should be awarded to each, she has decided that the ensuing extract should be inserted; it does equal honour to the writer, and to the person who is the subject.

“ I cannot but feel a degree of apprehension at your intention of giving to the world an account of the discussions that took place at Cephalonia, because the public generally judge harshly and hastily, and it is very difficult to make them understand that a person of the purest principles and with the best intentions may endeavour to reconcile the Christian dispensation with the prominent attributes of the Deity—I mean his omnipotence, justice, and mercy. I have always been impressed with the beauty and excellence of the moral code which Christianity has revealed to mankind, and on that account I have been most anxious to comprehend its more abstruse doctrines. I am quite certain that Lord Byron was very sincere in his inquiries into the merits of Christianity. He entertained the highest respect for the character of Dr. K., and was engaged to attend to him from a complete conviction of his real goodness and sincerity,—indeed, he told me, that he had not entertained that conviction, he would not have listened to Dr. K. a second time. No man was ever better calculated to inculcate the excellent

precepts of Christianity with better success, for his whole character seemed to have been imbued with its best principles : he was so gentle, so good, so patient, and so persevering to secure the happiness of others, that it was impossible not to feel pleased and grateful for his efforts ; and my heart must be much more insensible than it is at present, not to recollect them with becoming gratitude. Yet the motives for inquiry are subject to the misinterpretation of illiberal and narrow-minded individuals."—1830.

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